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THE SOCIAL TECHNIQUE OF CONFERENCES

JEROME DAVIS

Yale University

How few of us are aware of the extent of the conference "mania" in America? Without realizing it we have become a nation firmly wedded to the conference habit. Business leaders hold scores of conferences each year, labor attends many hundreds, and as for our fraternal organizations, everyone knows their fondness for convention get-togethers. It is not so generally known that the church holds over two thousand conferences and institutes during the summer alone and that over six thousand persons serve as instructors in these sessions. Church people by the hundred thousand pay their own expenses to spend from a week to ten days in these meetings. At such a notable gathering as the National Conference of Social Work recently held in Denver, delegates came from all over the United States and tens of thousands of dollars were paid for transportation alone. All of these facts make it imperative that we should analyze most carefully the technique of conferences.

The problem is not a new one. Ever since world history began, religious and civic leaders have been experimenting with the convention idea. Moses was obliged to hold conferences from time to time with the children of Israel, and the discussions were not always pleasant nor the conclusions satisfactory. As one studies the multitudinous conference programs in the United States and considers how "fearfully and wonderfully" they seem to be

constructed, one is doubtful as to our progress in conference technique. In fact, in certain respects we may have deteriorated.

Recall the record of the past fifty years. At first the standard procedure was to secure a miscellaneous assortment of nationally known speakers to harangue the multitude. They were supposed to stimulate the thought of the delegates or to capture them on the spot for some particular universal panacea or some standard national patriotic sentiment already accepted by all. A little later, in the student field, courses and text-books were added to the main addresses. This enabled different members of a conference to take special work in their particular field of interest. Even in these courses, however, the lecture method was rigidly adhered to, with perhaps an occasional opportunity for questions.

After people had become somewhat dissatisfied with the classroom idea, a one-hour forum was added to the program, where the audience had a chance to interrogate the speaker. Later on, the conference was built around one theme—it might be international relations—and all the sessions were devoted to various aspects of that general subject.

At the present time we are just beginning to experiment with the discussion method. Under this plan, while experts may be in attendance, there is no set program prepared in advance for platform speaking. The members of the conference discuss the problems which interest them most and their conclusions are written on a large blackboard by the chairman. Experts are called in for consultation when needed. The weakness of this technique is that it is apt to make for superficiality, and that it does not appeal to a certain number of people who like

to hear a carefully prepared paper by a recognized expert followed by a stimulating discussion.

It seems to the writer that we have not analyzed with sufficient carefulness the whole problem of conference technique. In the past we have used some or all of the following methods: platform addresses, forums, personal interviews, study text-books, division into small groups, devotional meetings, debates, pageantry and drama, and the discussion method.

No doubt conferences of the future will make use of all of these methods and others yet to be devised. There will be an integration in any one conference of a number of them. But why should it not be possible to make a scientific study of conferences themselves and place each individual gathering under the microscope? In most cases it should certainly be possible, before a conference meets, to decide what is its purpose. I assume that one of the chief objectives of a student Y. M. C. A. conference, for instance, is to make the student face the problem of the will of God and its relation to his life work, to ask himself thoughtfully and conscientiously where he can render the greatest service to our world society. Once the objectives of the conference are known, we must have some idea of the thought-background of those who are going to participate. Would it not be possible to secure some of this attitude material prior to the assembling of the delegates? A careful questionnaire sent to Y. M. C. A. secretaries, for example, who are actually serving students, would give us some information. This ought to be supplemented by questionnaires to teachers and to representative students themselves. In this way, long before the conference meets, we should know what these groups consider are the chief problems confronting the student

mind. The conference should then be built not only to answer problems found to be the most perplexing in the various questionnaires, but to counteract any startling ignorance on pressing problems which might just as clearly be shown to exist.

Are there any concrete suggestions which may safely be made regarding the program and method of conferences in general? Obviously, no one program or technique will be adaptable for all. Does it not seem probable that most gatherings will find it worth while to afford some opportunity for full and frank consideration of the greatest social danger spots in our civilization? At the present time there should probably be included among others the subjects of racial, class, and international conflict.

After it has been decided which concrete problems will be presented, the perplexing question of method, of how to get these problems over to the conference mind, will have to be considered. It is absolutely imperative that we should not rely upon pure reason alone, mathematical and logical minds to the contrary notwithstanding. A certain amount of emotionalism is probably necessary if we are ever really to change life purposes.

One great difficulty in getting a problem into the thinking of most audiences is that they have never been really confronted with it in life; it lacks reality for them. The listeners sense at once that the address and certainly their own discussion is a theoretical treatment far removed from the clash and struggle of the world of doing. In order to obviate this danger it seems to the writer that we should have at the conference representation from participant observers. To make this suggestion a bit more concrete, supposing we desired to discuss the prob-

lem of the trade union, the strike, and its relationship to the consumer. The first session of the conference could well be devoted to a twenty minute statement by an expert on the problem of group representation in industry, followed by a discussion which would make clear the various issues involved and the real clash of interests in the problem. The second session could be led by two outstanding participant observers. These men should be selected, if possible, from an area in which a strike was then in progress or had recently been concluded. One should be a union leader who was in the thick of the battle, and the other an employer who was fighting organized labor. These men should appear on the same platform and present their respective points of view. They should then be subjected to "heckling" from the audience. After such a meeting there is little question but that the entire complex problem would be a real one to the delegates. They would have felt "the smoke of battle" and sensed the many-sidedness of the problem. And all through the day wherever the delegates went, there would be heated discussions.

The next sessions might profitably be devoted to a discussion of solutions, again led by an expert, and the concluding day could be devoted to the question of what the members of the conference could individually and collectively do about it. What would be the results of such a program? We will never know until it has been tried. Of one thing we can be sure, for every conference there should be almost as careful scientific planning as for the building of the Panama Canal and perhaps much more than has sometimes been necessary for a New York subway. Besides scientific intensive preparation, there should be an accurate follow-up campaign.

It should be possible to determine the effectiveness of

any particular conference and to some degree the results achieved. A carefully prepared questionnaire could be given to the delegates at the final session. This would check the effectiveness of the methods and speakers used. Such an appraisal questionnaire was used with great success at the Silver Bay Student Association Conference this year. If this method were tried repeatedly it should be possible eventually to prepare some standard score sheet for the conference itself. It would then be possible to compare the effectiveness of various methods from year to year. In planning a conference executives would thus be guided by returns from new questionnaires and also by the sample of opinion already tabulated from the preceding conferences as well as by the long experience of the past.

In the case of a student conference, there might be a further check on the results as they make themselves felt during the ensuing college year, by a questionnaire to Y. M. C. A. secretaries and college administrators. Obviously, these tabulations would be unreliable, but the average of the answers received would after all probably be significant. There would be a certain degree of comparability between averages. Some conference should, of course, result in new creative discoveries. Under the method proposed, there would be little danger that the full significance of the innovation would pass unnoticed.

We are just coming into the era of careful scientific planning. It should extend into the human field just as rigorously as it now does in the field of production and mechanical engineering. The suggestions listed are obviously merely first steps in this direction, but we should look forward to the day when conference technique is vastly in advance of the chaos which now confronts us.

WHAT IS SOCIAL PROGRESS?

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

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Since the reader must detect it in the end, let me admit at the outset my inability to answer the question proposed in the title. In fact, an essay on the subject of "social progress" is quite sure to raise more questions than it settles. The word is in every mouth, but no one knows what it means. That is, nobody seems able to frame an exact definition. Yet on the other hand there is remarkable unanimity of agreement as to the more general significance of the term. From the belabored formulas of the social philosopher to the labored efforts of the student in the class-room, or the cock-sure deliverances of the man on the street, everybody understands "progress" to mean *change for the better*. And as for *social progress*, there is likewise agreement in the vague notion that it means change for the better with respect to the common or collective life. In short, social progress means, for all of us, ignorant or learned, simply social improvement, the betterment of society, or, most briefly and exactly, societal betterment.

But while the road is broad and easily traveled up to this point, it here frays out into a maze of devious jungle-paths which may best be indicated by a glance at the difficulties into which they lead: In the first place the idea of "change" itself is not perfectly clear. Many people, since the days of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, have fallen into the unthinking habit of identifying prog-

ress with evolution. But evolution, as we are now coming to realize, contains absolutely not the slightest guarantee of progress, simply because it is not necessarily change for the *better*. The essential process, according to the evolutionary hypothesis, is *adaptation to conditions*, and the conditions may be such as will lead to change for the worse just as easily as to change for the better. *Change* itself is simply failure to persist unaltered; failure to maintain identical relations or qualities. Change means simply this process of becoming *different* in any sense. *Evolution* means the same thing, with the further idea that the later changes in the process grow out of those that preceded, through some directly causal connection; that the latter *are* by virtue of the fact that the former *were*; and that the whole causally connected chain of events represents the unrolling or unfolding (i. e. the evolution) of resident forces or potentialities present in some sense from the beginning within the series.

"Evolution" thus appears to be a term lying midway between mere meaningless "change" and the highly evaluative and subjective concept known as "progress." But it is very far from being a synonym for "progress," and cannot be made to fill the same role in human thinking, in spite of those who vainly imagine that by spelling the word with a capital letter they can make it do not only that feat, but even take the place of Divine Providence itself.

As already remarked "progress" signifies change for the better. It is thus subjective, inasmuch as it implies that the speaker has framed a value-judgment about the change which he calls "progress," and pronounces it a change for the better. Progress thus means not mere change, nor even change incidental to the orderly un-

folding of resident forces as in the case of evolution, but change for the better.

If now some one asks, What is meant by the *better?*, we may fitly reply that it is simply *more of the good*. But if pressed to define "the good" we shall at once find ourselves in difficulties from which neither the sociologists, the ethicists, nor the philosophers can easily deliver us.

One difficulty lies in the disconcerting fact that no one has succeeded in demonstrating that *social* progress actually takes place as a fact. Of course it is easy to point out progressive change in particular, but correspondingly hard to show it in general. While it is traceable in the case of the automobile as a piece of machinery, or in methods of doing the family sweeping and washing, or in mowing the clover field and the lawn, or in the movement from the chipped flint to tools of hardened steel, and in countless other details pertaining to physical things, in the mental and moral, the artistic and religious, the political and social realms there is usually room for dispute even over details, and room for little else when it comes to deciding whether the net result, or balance, of all these things turns for or against the proposition that things are changing for the better in human society on the whole.

So we do not know to a demonstrated certainty that social progress actually takes place, and even if it does, where are the criteria for recognizing it when it arrives? But this is not by any means the last of our difficulties, since even if men should succeed in recognizing social progress, and agree to pronounce it good and desirable, they have thus far shown little, if any, capacity for bringing it to pass by their own efforts. Herbert Spencer, and William Graham Sumner after him, delighted to argue

that human beings can have no influence on social evolution except to make it worse, but since the Evolution they identified with Progress was not progress at all, they really contributed nothing to the subject with which we are here concerned.

This disputed ability of a society, i. e., a group, to steer its own course of progress I propose to call *societal self-direction*. It may do no harm to name it, even though the fact of its existence has yet to be established. If its feasibility cannot be demonstrated humanity is left in a sorry plight, the evolutionary optimism of the Spencerians having turned out to be founded on sound digestion rather than sound logic, and the sanguine hopes of Ward and the other intellectualists for an enlightened program of social telesis (societal self-direction) having nowhere yet found a local habitation and a name.

Even yet our perplexities are not ended. In order to grapple unhampered with those that remain, let us compose our doubts as thus far developed and assume that we know what we mean by progress, particularly *social* progress; that it is an actual fact in the objective world; that we are able to recognize it when it comes; that we have the collective wisdom to direct the common life deliberately along progressive lines and hold command of the means for propelling the ship of state according to the chart—let all this be accepted, but also accepted the apparent fact that, according to the revelations of science, our own globe and even the stupendous solar and stellar systems of which it forms a part are cooling off, running down, suffering degradation of energy, turning to cinders, cold and dead as the moon, or possibly speeding toward some stellar catastrophe that will instantly expand it all into world-mist and star-dust in true Spencerian fashion.

Let no reader be nervous, for they tell us the prospect of gradual refrigeration is still infinitely remote, and the chances of a world conflagration infinitesimally small. "The good ship earth" will probably sail serenely along for billions of years. The issue is therefore not of immediate practical import, but it does possess great theoretical interest for the problem of this paper. For what can be said of a conception of progress, particularly social progress, which is bound to decline sooner or later, and perish miserably in the end. We are back in that case where the Greeks were with their theory of meaningless cycles—mere *change*, with a limited course of *evolution*, and nothing of *permanent progress*.

For such a predicament there can be no remedy short of a confidence in the permanent and on-going nature of the universe that really amounts at bottom to an attitude of faith. And since reason cannot guarantee an eternal existence for the world in which we live, the mind reaches out after some conception of the world that has room for a power and a purpose great enough and eternal enough to provide for the permanent existence either in this world or some other, no matter how inconceivable, of all that is worth preserving from the wreck of this mortal existence. Such a saviour as that is what men really mean when they speak of God. Faith in God, in this deep sense, is the only logical basis for belief in progress. But here we face a strange contradiction, namely that many evolutionists believe in social progress just because they believe in evolution, although this gives them no logical ground for their optimism, while at the same time many religious persons, with a faith in God which offers the only logical basis for a belief in progress, whether social or cosmic, are themselves hopeless pessimists on the subject, holding that this world is headed straight for perdi-

tion, that efforts at societal self-direction are useless if not impious, and that to snatch a few individual brands from the burning is the sole mission of religious salvation.

I do not mean to imply, in the foregoing, that the case is hopeless for a theory of social progress, but merely to show that it is vastly more difficult and elusive than is commonly supposed. Space will not permit of any sort of an adequate statement, yet to escape a seemingly negative conclusion I shall set forth in the following paragraphs a formulation of social progress in terms of three sub-processes which seem to stand out when one turns to life itself to ascertain what the good actually is that human beings are seeking.

First of all they are seeking to utilize their physical environment. The impressive opening of Sumner's *Folkways* applies here—"The first task of life is to live." It is not merely the primal task but also the fundamental and constantly recurring task. Therefore, one large phase of the movement called progress must consist of all ways and means for a fuller *utilization* of the materials and forces of nature. This is a matter of "production" in the broadest sense. Such utilization of environment is the central process in human life as distinguished from all lower forms of life. Man not only is adapted to his environment, but adapts it to himself, in an ever-increasing degree by means of discoveries and inventions, directed by means of that planning, adjusting, purposeful intelligence which is his distinctive attribute as man.

The sum total of these achievements constitutes civilization, as Ward expressed it. Its fundamental importance for human progress becomes the basis of the economic interpretation of history advocated by Marxian socialism,

the dogmas of the "geographic determinists,"¹ and of the stress laid on the maintenance mores" by Sumner and his disciples.² Human beings, like all organic beings, must meet the physical conditions of life or perish under the hand of natural selection. The degree of success with which this effort is rewarded sets the limits within which all other, less materialistic, activities must take place. A social group so low in the scale of productive efficiency as to require all its waking hours and energies in the quest for food could attain no other forms of good than those which directly further the business of getting a living, or such at least as might be enjoyed as merely incidental and in no way subtracting from the all-absorbing task of keeping body and soul together. Taken in its extreme and simplest form this proposition is a mere truism, and it would be unnecessary to record it but for the not uncommon tendency to overlook it in societies where a surplus of food and shelter has permitted the accumulation, through leisure time, of a considerable superstructure of higher culture, whose humble foundations are thereby obscured for the unreflecting observer. Nevertheless, the old problem is ever at the base and center of life, and with such urgency that under the head of aids to *utilization* must be placed a multitude of the elements of progress, such as strong physique, good health, clear mentality, knowledge of materials and forces of nature, improved tools and methods of technology, industrial organization, and in short everything which enables human groups to produce a larger supply of economic goods and services, or in other words, to adapt themselves to the environment and the environment to themselves.

¹Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, Ch. IX.

²Sumner's *Folkways*; Keller's *Societal Evolution*; Fairchild's *Applied Sociology*.

In the second place, all men are vitally interested in *distribution*, not only economic, but *social* distribution in the broadest sense. Therefore, a large element in progress will consist in the equitable distribution not merely of the *product*, but also of the social relations which emerge in the process itself. That is to say, the problem of distribution, sociologically speaking, is more than a matter of the apportionment of economic utilities, goods and services. It is almost, if not quite, equally a question of distributing the *producers* themselves. In other words, the processes of production create a whole series of relations between the producer and his work, the producer and other producers, and the producer and the product. These several positions carry with them a greater or lesser participation in the laborious toil, the pleasurable exercise of authority, or the enjoyable consumption of utilities; which participation is part and parcel of the productive process in the broad social sense as here used. A very marked and very wide gradation of advantages is involved in the industries of every human group. It is therefore of utmost importance to all men that there be not only an equitable division of the product, but also a fair distribution of the duties, opportunities, enjoyments, and honors coincident to the processes of production, remembering that from these things flow, more or less directly, access to knowledge, culture, refinement, and even character to a large extent. For this process I prefer, as less narrowly misleading, the term, *equalization*.

This, as will be observed, brings us to the conclusion that progress is essentially a *democratic* movement, for equalization in the sense here indicated is practically synonymous with democracy in its wider and more fundamental aspects. Viewed from this angle progress includes all tendencies and movements which operate to

equalize opportunities for education and truly democratic vocational preparation, thereby tending to break up the present evil alliance between the worst toil and the lowest pay. It includes also all forces which make war on private monopoly and unjust privilege, and hereditary social parasitism through unlimited inheritance; all social legislation aiming to redistribute the burdens of congenital and superinduced poverty, insuring the economically weak against the vicissitudes of life (unemployment, accident, and sickness), and rendering the unfit as fit as science and humanitarianism together can make them. Another important element of this process of social distribution would be all influences tending to dignify every honest and useful calling in itself, but this might fall more properly under the following category.

In the third place growth in *appreciation* is an essential element in our present conception of progress. The word is used in its usual sense, meaning to estimate things in terms of worth or value, to apprehend experience from the standpoint of excellence, preciousness, and relative significance.³ By this I mean to say that the progress of any human group cannot be fully expressed in terms of utilization and equalization, since more important for human happiness than the possession of much goods, or even their equitable social distribution, is the capacity to appraise them adequately and enjoy them wisely—in a word to *appreciate* the whole process and the elements in it. A sty of swine, all equally well-fed, equally well-combed, and equally well-bedded, might fulfill the purposes of progressive utilization and equalization in some degree, but it could hardly be taken as symbolic in any sense of a progressive human society. Whatever else it

³The reader may prefer the term "Valuation," as used by Professor Cooley, in *Social Process*, Ch. XXV.

may imply, our conception of social progress must contain the three ideas of an increasing utilization, equitable distribution, and adequate appreciation of the goods of life, and that may be counted good which contributes to any or all of these ends.

When it comes to naming some of the specific things which might justly be placed in this third category it appears at once that we are here within the realm of the more spiritual goods, namely, the intellectual, esthetic, moral, and religious values. No theory of progress dare neglect them, for they constitute the richest and most enduring sources of happiness, and any purely materialistic conception of progress, whatever it might promise of sleek and well-fed contentment, would be less than human in its terms and its spirit. As specific examples under this head would come scientific pursuit of knowledge, enjoyment of art, love of refined social relationships, and the consolations of philosophy and religion. No adequate theory of progress will overlook those "goods" which are appreciated rather than consumed; and a complete view of human happiness must make room not only for the creeds and the faiths, but even for the shining illusions of human experience.⁴

I submit that Utilization, Equalization, and Appreciation, as above defined, represent three social processes which together constitute the larger, all-inclusive process known as Social Progress. Being a social process, progress is necessarily multifarious, multitudinous, and characterized by infinite richness of detail. But these details are seen upon scrutiny to follow more or less clearly defined behavior-patterns, which, because they are constantly recurrent in all human groups, have been fitly

⁴See the chapter on "Illusions," by Professor Ross, in his *Social Control*.

called *social processes*. These processes in turn seem to reduce themselves to the three large categories or processes named above.

Of the three, Utilization deals with measurable, material things, and is least subject to dispute. Equalization is much more complex than the crude demand for an equal division of goods, but it is nevertheless capable of being stated in quite unequivocal terms. Appreciation is the most subtle of the three processes, and also the most important in both the personal and impersonal senses. Therefore, in this field occur disputes the most numerous, the most heated, and the most interminable. Precisely at this point my effort to define social progress objectively faces the greatest danger of shipwreck. And the peril is so much the greater in view of the fact that the very process of Equalization itself, to say nothing of Utilization, must be guided and judged in part by the ideals and standards which can be worked out only within the realm of Appreciation.

However that may be, I am convinced that when we make "social progress," that is, when society changes for the better, which means more of the *good*, the multifarious seekings of men will be so directed along these fundamental lines of endeavor that we shall have more good things, a clearer and truer conception of what is really good, and more of the good in both forms for all.

THE ORIENTAL INVASION

R. D. McKENZIE

University of Washington

The arguments against the presence of Orientals in America are legion; they comprise almost the entire catalogue of human frailties. The Orientals in general and the Japanese in particular are stigmatized as being dirty, immoral, clannish, dishonest, aggressive, tricky, exploiters of the soil; they are criticized for their low standard of living, low ideals with reference to women and children, and their excessively high birth-rate; for sending accumulated wealth out of the country and for maintaining allegiance to their fatherland.

To attempt to refute these allegations by collecting and publishing the "facts" is to deal with symptoms rather than causes. It is easy to prove that most of these statements are erroneous guesses or direct misrepresentations, while those which contain any truth are probably equally true of other groups. A classification of the disagreeable traits attributed to the Japanese reminds one of Lombroso's classification of the physical traits of the "born criminal;" that is, the facts may be true of the group studied, but equally true of groups not studied.

The roots of anti-racial feeling must be sought in the underlying conditions of life rather than in the surface manifestations of prejudice. This involves two fields of investigation: first, a study of the physical and cultural differences and their relation to hostility and antagonism; second, an investigation of the ecological relations exist-

ing between the two racial groups with a view to the discovery of conditions making for conflict or accommodation.

Taking the first field of consideration, that of the physical and cultural differences, it is a commonplace observation that the strange or unusual, which arouses attention and necessitates an adjustment of habits, in itself becomes a source of curiosity or resentment. The intrusion of a strange steer into the herd, or of a new cockerel into the barnyard, immediately calls forth a reaction of hostility. Likewise, the sudden introduction of a change in fashion or code of ethics produces resentment among certain members of the human group. However, the resentment thus occasioned soon disappears unless there is something in the ecological organization of life to perpetuate and sustain it. So in the field of race relations we tend to become accommodated to black or yellow faces just as we do to bobbed hair or petting parties.

The active causes of racial antagonism therefore must be sought in the second field of investigation, namely, in the ecological organization of the two races. By ecological organization, I mean the sustenance and place relations which the invading race assumes with regard to its host. Sustenance relations are of three fundamental types: competition, parasitism, mutualism. The struggle for existence in all organic life, plant and animal as well as human, tends to resolve itself into one or another of these three relations or their various combinations. In human society competition tends to produce friction, conflict, and individual or group consciousness. The sentiment is intensified when the competitor belongs to a different cultural or racial group. But when the invader assumes the sustenance role of parasite, his presence seems

to occasion less trouble, and the attitudes arising from the relationship may be those of indifference or even tolerance. Finally, when the relationship between the invader and the host is one of mutualism, an attitude of cordiality and good-will tends to develop and to give rise to good-will organizations of various sorts.

The place relation which the invader assumes has almost as much significance as the sustenance relation in determining the attitude of the host. Place relation has two points of significance: first, geographical distribution and, second, social position. The invader has the problem of finding a place in which he can live as well as that of getting a job. In every community there is a tendency toward segregation of inhabitants in accordance with economic and cultural levels. In the large city, groups that are not *personae gratae* are forced to live in or near the business centers or in other locations undesirable for high-class residence. In such regions the invader is left unperturbed to work out his own communal life. Geographical location in communal structure is closely correlated with social position, consequently any attempt on the part of the invader to enter better place locations is synonymous with an attempt to cross social class boundaries, and therefore produces irritation and opposition.

CYCLES OF INVASION

Inter-racial invasions frequently exhibit similar types of experience. At first the invader of lower economic and cultural status is welcomed into the higher economic region to perform tasks that the inhabitants are unwilling to perform themselves. But after awhile when the tasks for which the alien was imported are finished, or usurped by some other group, or when economic cycles arrive at

periods of business depression,—or again when the invader ceases to be content with the lowest forms of labor and commences to push his way up the economic ladder,—hostility and opposition arise, promoted by those members of the native group most affected by the competition. The irritation thus arising is exploited by politicians and other office-seekers as soon as it gives indication of being of sufficient importance for public manipulation. This has been the cycle of experience with regard to the Negro in America. It has been the experience with the Chinese and is now the experience with the Japanese, and in all probability will be the experience with regard to Mexicans, Filipinos, or any other racial group that may be allowed or encouraged to come into the country to perform tasks which Americans are unwilling to perform.

ORIENTAL INVASION

The Chinese commenced coming to the Pacific Coast about the middle of the nineteenth century. They filled an important need in the California labor market at that time. They performed the more arduous and less stimulating tasks connected with mining and farming, while the masses of the native population were speculating in gold and land. Under these conditions of mutualism the invading Chinese were not only unopposed, but were actually welcomed into the country. Their primary group traits of honesty, loyalty, and industry were extolled by the press as being distinct assets in our Pacific Coast development. However, as soon as the bubble of gold speculation had burst and economic depression had thrown white miners out of work, the Celestials were assailed as a menace to the country. Their primary group virtues miraculously disappeared and in their stead all the vices and defects of human nature quickly loomed up

to form the myth subsequently known as the "yellow peril." Anti-Chinese organizations arose, restrictive legislation of various sorts was enacted, and the movement for restriction of Chinese immigration grew apace, culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

This cycle of experience in the Chinese invasion is to a considerable extent duplicated by the Japanese. As soon as the Chinese restriction law had gone into effect in the early 80's, the Japanese began to arrive on the western coast. The initial stages of their immigration were marked by cordiality and good-will on the part of the people of California. The Japanese were assumed to have all the good qualities hitherto attributed to the Chinese, without any of their vices. It was not long, however, before the Japanese immigrants began to come into competition with white labor, especially in the railroad, logging, and fishing camps, also in agriculture. Anti-Japanese sentiment commenced to develop in the early 90's in California and later followed them in their migration to western Washington. The opposition came first from organized labor, but later, as the Japanese gradually pushed their way up into the *entrepreneur* classes in agriculture, fishing, and small business in the cities, opposition forthwith developed among the corresponding classes of the white population. And, as in the case of the Chinese, as soon as the anti-Japanese sentiment had reached a point of development where it could be used for political or personal gain, politicians, newspapers, and anti-Japanese organizations vied with one another in its exploitation, with the result that restrictive legislation of various forms was resorted to, culminating in the Gentleman's Agreement, the Anti-Alien Land Laws, and finally in the Exclusion Act of July, 1924.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION
CONTRASTED

Although at the present time the gainfully employed male population of the Chinese in the United States amounts to over 85 per cent of that of the Japanese, nevertheless practically all the anti-Oriental sentiment on the Pacific Coast seems to be directed against the Japanese. The Chinese are regarded with indifference or even with good-will by the American people. The Chinese are contrasted with the Japanese much to the latter's discredit. In fact, a Chinese is usually alert to inform an American of his nationality, lest he be mistaken for a Japanese and therefore be subject to the current prejudice against the Japanese.

The difference in the attitude of the American people toward Chinese and Japanese cannot be explained on racial or cultural grounds. Racially, the two groups are so much alike that the average American cannot tell them apart. Culturally, all the arguments used against the Japanese could, with just as much validity, be applied to the Chinese, with the possible exception of the argument pertaining to birth rate. The basis for this contrast in attitude must be sought, therefore, in the different ecological organization of the two peoples. A study of the sustenance and place relations that each of these groups bears to the American public justifies this hypothesis.

In the first place, the Chinese have gradually withdrawn from most of the competitive occupations. They are no longer engaged in agriculture, in the logging camps, or in the mines. They participate, to a very limited extent, in types of business in which Americans compete. Their sphere in business is confined almost

exclusively to transactions with their own people or to supplying wants in the American community uncatered to by whites. To be sure, much of the Chinese business is of the parasitic type, such as gambling, dealing in narcotics, smuggling, and the like. Although detrimental to the white community, these occupations do not give rise to competition with whites to any considerable extent, and when they do, the competition is of such a nature that the white competitor cannot enlist the sympathy of the American people to assist him in combatting his Oriental rival.

In the second place, the tendency of the Chinese with reference to place distribution has been such as to provoke a minimum of irritation among the whites. Along with their pronounced tendency during the past twenty years to distribute themselves throughout all the states of the Union, there has also been a correspondingly marked tendency on their part to segregate in the hearts of a few of the very large cities of the country. These two tendencies make for place relations least provocative of irritation. The total Chinese population of the country is so widely distributed that it does not appear menacing in any particular spot. On the other hand, the fact that the Chinese are segregated near the centers of the larger cities gives them an impersonal relationship in our communal structure, and permits them to live with less enforced contact with the American people. Instead of being considered as a disturbing element in our communal life, the Chinatown, in some cities at least, is looked upon as a commercial asset—a sort of human zoo—which becomes a point of attraction for tourists.

Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese have entered into competitive sustenance relations with the whites, and

what is more, have concentrated their numbers in relatively few occupations, thus making their competition a much more important factor than the total number of Japanese workers would appear to warrant. They have, for instance, concentrated in agriculture, and in one branch of agriculture, truck gardening. They have also concentrated in certain types of small business: groceries, hotels, dye works, cleaning and pressing establishments, and the like. They have not developed as many non-competitive types of business as have the Chinese, such as chop suey restaurants, hand laundries. Moreover, the Japanese are much more prone than the Chinese to establish business relations with the whites, and they penetrate much farther into the white community, both in number and distribution of business establishments.

With regard to place relations, the Japanese have assumed a development which is even more provocative of irritation. The fact that the Japanese have concentrated in truck gardening makes for their distribution around the peripheries of a few of the large cities of the coast, and in adjoining fertile valleys. The rather wide dispersion of population occasioned by any form of agriculture is also a factor for consideration. The Japanese population engaged in truck gardening seems much larger than it would if huddled together in a few blocks in the center of the city, as the Chinese are. Moreover, the leading highways radiating from the large cities pass through or by these fertile garden spots cultivated by Japanese. This enables a large number of whites to view the colored invader at work, and to compare his fine agricultural holdings with those of his less efficient white competitor, gaining thereby the impression that the Japanese are driving the whites away from the best land and forcing Amer-

icans to assume not only an inferior economic role, but also an inferior social role.

Again, in regard to residence within the city, the Japanese assume a different ecological organization from that of the Chinese. The Chinatown is as a rule a receding community. There is but little tendency to extend its boundaries or for the individual Chinese families to move into white neighborhoods. Most Japanese communities, on the other hand, are of the bursting type. Population increase constantly forces the local community to extend its boundaries, pushing out the inhabitants who occupy the fringe. But far more important is the fact that the upper economic and social classes of the Japanese are unwilling to live in the quarters occupied by Japanese coolie labor. Ever since the passing of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1907, the type of Japanese male immigrant coming to this country has been of the higher economic and cultural level. This type of person is unwilling to live in the slum quarters of an American city; consequently, he is making continual efforts to find a home in a white residential section which corresponds to his own economic status. Americans have adopted the attitude that people of another color are all of the same social status, and they therefore object to the intrusion into their neighborhood of a cultured Japanese family, just as keenly as they would to that of a coolie family. This tendency on the part of the Japanese to distribute territorially in the city is quite as great a source of irritation as is the competitive occupational relation assumed by the group.

STEMMING THE JAPANESE INVASION

Every invasion tends to pass through three stages in course of evolution. In the first place, there is the initial

stage, in which the invader makes entry. This may be marked by cordiality or opposition on the part of the host, according to whether the relation established is believed to be one of mutualism or competition. Second, there is the developmental stage, characterized by increasing competition and efforts at control. Finally, there is the climax stage, when the invasion has reached its culmination. This may be marked by the complete displacement of the previous inhabitants, or by a condition of accommodation in both sustenance and place relations between invader and host.

When the invader is unrestricted by artificial barriers, such as legislation, the invasion process tends to continue until either displacement of previous occupants or accommodation takes place. It appears to be common belief that if left unhampered by legislative restriction, the Japanese would soon displace whites in all occupations. This argument is based, not on the assumption of the superior efficiency of the Japanese, but of his willingness to adopt a lower standard of living. This point of view, however, is not substantiated by the facts.

A study of the occupational history of the Japanese in America shows that in many lines of endeavor natural conditions of competition have sufficed to stem the invasion process. In the logging and mining industries of the Northwest there are fewer Japanese laborers employed today than there were twenty years ago. Even in agriculture the invasion has been successful in but a few highly specialized lines, such as truck gardening and small fruit farming. In grain and large fruit cultivation the Japanese seem to be unsuccessful in their competition with whites, although unrestricted by legislative barriers. In the realm of business also the Japanese have found that

the natural conditions of competition have prevented their advance in many branches. Aside from the small retail services such as restaurants, grocery stores, cleaning and pressing establishments, the Japanese have found few occupational outlets in business dealings with the whites. In the professions, barriers are even greater. Up to the present very few Japanese have succeeded in winning the confidence of a white clientele. Consequently the professionally-trained young Japanese is forced either to limit his practice to his own group,—which in this country is too small to afford much opportunity,—or to emigrate to his fatherland.

The legislative restrictions pertaining to agriculture and other occupational outlets, in all probability, will force a considerable number of the second generation of Japanese into parasitic and disorderly types of occupation unless the efficient control of the leaders of Japanese communal life succeeds in dispersing the Japanese population throughout the country and into a variety of occupational pursuits.

INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD WAR UPON DIVORCES

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The statistics of divorces of various countries for 1912-1922 show an interesting change in the movement of these phenomena. The essence of the change consists in the diminution of divorces during the years of the War.

The principal data in this respect are as follows:¹

DIVORCES (NUMBER)

BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES							
Years	Germany	Austria	Belgium	France	England and Wales	Roumania	
					Without Poor		
1912	16,911	-----	1159	14,504	1159	Person's	2998
1913	17,835	-----	1207	15,372	1267	Suits†	3217
1914	17,740	1651	up to	1884	1348	1260	3433
1915	10,791	1044	1919	-----	1373	1117	3226
1916	10,494	1084	is lower	-----	1413	1073	-----
1917	11,603	1126	-----	-----	1708	1214	-----
1918	13,344	1779	-----	-----	2689	1655	865
1919	22,022	4171	623	-----	5763	3422	3016
1920	36,542	5372	2195	29,156	-----	-----	7716‡
1921	39,216	5675	3665	32,557	-----	-----	9741
1922	36,548	-----	3718	27,684	-----	-----	8549

These figures show clearly that in all these countries which very intensively fought in the War the divorces beginning with 1914 either greatly diminished or ceased

†The figures for England and Wales give the number of the divorce suits. On 9th June, 1914, there were introduced the so-called Poor Person's Rules. "These Rules enable persons without means to become parties to proceedings in the Supreme Court without payment of fees or costs." "In the absence of the facilities afforded by the Rules of 1914 the total number of suits would have been very much less." *Judicial Statistics, Engl. & Wales, 1919, part II, 4 p.*

‡Since 1920 Roumania is taken in its new limits.

¹The data are taken by me from the following official sources: *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique, 1922, Bruxelles, 1924, pp. 12-13. Statistisk Årbok for Sverige for 1923, 36 p. Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz for 1923, 16 p. Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1921-22, pp. 48-49. Statistisk Aarbog (of Denmark) for 1922, p. 28. Eighty-Second Annual Report of the Registrar-General, 1919, XVI and XCVIII pp., and Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Reg.-General for Scotland, table 28, Anuarul Statistic al Romaniei for 1922, 39 p., and some others.*

to increase. After the Armistice in 1918 the interrupted increase of divorces resumed its "natural" course and during the following years rose to an extraordinarily high degree. Let us now take the neutral countries or those which participated in the War not so actively as the countries mentioned above.

DIVORCES (NUMBER)

NON-BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES								
Years	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	Switzer- land	New Zealand	Aus- tralia	Holland	Uru- guay
1912	724	659	491	1514	222	686	1055	93
1913	801	770	507	1616	223	651	1118	139
1914	887	785	429	1455	234	627	1122	134
1915	878	847	566	1472	256	670	1166	122
1916	917	772	514	1562	289	640	1301	180
1917	1012	1040	563	1640	282	669	1354	170
1918	1098	1098	620	1699	380	737	1404	195
1919	1294	1204	595	1977	675	883	1527	191
1920	1197	1325	663	2241	748	1069	1962	250
1921	1390	1265	618	1979	796	1404	1988	256
1922	1308	1455	2108	643	1954

These figures show that in 1914-1917 a decrease of divorces took place in some of the neutral countries. In other countries it did not happen, but the increase of divorces, it seems, became slower. (I do not give here the figures for Japan because the divorces in this country, since 1898, began to develop in quite a different way from that in Europe and therefore their course must be explained through other factors.)

If we admit that the indicated change in the movement of divorces was due to the War, we must explain why this factor called forth such a result. The following considerations may meet the question. First, before the War in all these countries divorces systematically increased.* If we do not admit the factor of the War we cannot explain at all the sudden fact of divorce diminution in all belligerent countries in 1914-1917. Second,

*See the figures in *Annuaire International de Statistique*, 1920, pp. 117-13.

mobilization of a considerable number of men made "automatically" impossible many divorce suits which would have taken place had the mobilization not happened. The War led to the diminution of divorces in the same way in which it called forth the diminution of marriages and births during 1914-1918. Third, to the same result the War led through the psychological changes caused by it. General danger for the society, engaged in the War, made the "*Salus Populi Suprema Lex.*" In such conditions all purely individual troubles and inconveniences are likely to become less important and less inconvenient. They are withstood now much easier than before and do not provoke such a strong desire to get rid of them as in the time of peace. The people are too busy and the danger for the fatherland is too great to pay much attention to intrafamily frictions and discordances. On the other hand, common hardships and sufferings caused by the War were likely to make stronger the social ties of a husband and wife; common sufferings are, perhaps, one of the strongest social bonds and especially in interrelations of the members of a family.³ These considerations may be enough to explain the diminution of divorces in the belligerent countries during the War. As to the second group of the countries we can say that they also were influenced by the War. Mortality and births, marriages and economic processes (card system, expansion of State interference, increase of death due to lack of necessities, and so on) in these countries—especially in those which were near to the area of the War—underwent changes similar to that of the belligerent countries. These changes were simply not so great and conspicuous as those of the

³The fact that the leisure and rich classes are giving a higher rate of divorces is an indirect confirmation of this statement.

countries which were engaged in the War quite actively. The above may be said about the divorces as well. And the real movement of the divorces in the second group of the countries confirms this expectation. Fourth, the Armistice meant a "social relaxation" from the great strain of the War years. Soldiers returned to their families. Individual affairs came again to the front. Family troubles and frictions, accumulated during the preceding years, became now urgent and demanded their settlement. Besides, the War itself facilitated their accumulation in the form of a hasty war marriage and through an increase of temptations to marriage-faithfulness of wives and husbands separated from each other for a long time. These and similar conditions may satisfactorily explain the extraordinary increase of divorces after 1917. The movement of divorces since 1918 is similar to that of marriages since 1918 and births since 1919. All these phenomena show an extraordinary increase after the termination of the War—the increase called forth by the same factors. Since 1922, births and marriages began to go down, witnessing by this the cessation of the influence of the War as an extraordinary factor which called forth their abnormal increase in 1918-1921. I do not have the figures for divorces in 1923-1924, but the fact that in many countries in 1922 the divorces slightly decreased gives reason to expect their further decrease in 1923-1924,—as far as this decrease is not checked by a constant tendency to increase which has been shown by divorces during last decades.

These considerations, I think, are enough to admit that the above changes in the movement of divorces were due to the War and may be satisfactorily explained from this point of view.

WHAT IS RACE PREJUDICE?*

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We frequently account for our irrational likes and dislikes by assigning to prejudice the power to distort our judgment and control our behavior in many ways. The expression, "Of course, I may be prejudiced," is in frequent use. An anonymous writer has described the influence of prejudice in the following terms:

. . . in relation to some things, with men of cultivated intellects, and sometimes even with good men, reason is dethroned, and the decisions of the mind are controlled by caprice, or by the summary determinations of the will, under the influence of wrong principles . . .¹

There are several terms which express various shades of meaning, some of which are practically synonymous with prejudice; others are marginal to it or denote particular kinds of prejudice, such as bias, aversion, partiality, antipathy, repulsion, and so on. All involve the idea of unreasonable attitudes which are not defensible logically. Their simplest form is expressed in the jingle:

I do not like you, Dr. Fell;
The reason why I cannot tell.
But this I know and know full well,
I do not like you, Dr. Fell.²

*AUTHOR'S NOTE: The study from which this excerpt is taken was inspired by Dr. Robert E. Park, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago. The reader can partly gauge the extent of the writer's debt to him by consulting Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, *passim*.

¹Anonymous, *The Negro Pew*, p. 8.

²Quoted by Francis Clark, "Our Dearest Antipathies," *Atlantic*, cxxvii (Feb., 1921), p. 239.

There seem to be forces within us which unbalance our reason and lead us to decisions and actions at variance with our intelligence. These forces may distort our attitude so far that others find it useless to discuss the question at issue with us. If they refuse to respect our point of view, we may come to the point of open hostility.

There are many prejudices. Some are seemingly the result of personal experiences, others are traditional attitudes which we hold in common with our associates or which have been inculcated in us by our elders. It is possible that some are instinctive, but this is an unsettled question.

A complete list of our prejudices would be long, indeed. A critical observer would doubtless list many of our attitudes as prejudices which we ourselves would defend as intellectually sound. In fact we are able to recognize some of our attitudes as prejudices only by virtue of the ability to detach ourselves in a measure from the attitudes in question and see them from some other point of view. Under these circumstances, if they appear to us as in some way irrational or improper, we call them prejudices in contrast to more critical intellectual attitudes.

The puzzling feature of this situation is that though we are able to recognize a number of our prejudices as such, we continue to entertain them and to yield to their influence. That is, when one yields to and willfully tends to act upon an attitude of which he intellectually disapproves, he then recognizes it as a prejudice. It is the peculiar characteristic of prejudices that they are to so large a degree independent of intellectual control. We can learn to recognize them by intellectual processes, but we cannot reason them away. "We can try not to be

fooled by them,"³ but we continue to act upon them nevertheless. There lies the problem of control.

Superstition and scientific attitudes are related to each other in a similar way. That is, we recognize superstitions as such only when we contrast them with scientific attitudes. Further, we may continue to be superstitious—to be concerned with our relations to black cats, ladders, mirrors, and so on—though we have long since learned how groundless are our fears. In the case of both prejudice and superstition the attitude persists even after the actual facts have been learned and the interests the prejudice or superstition may once have served have ceased to exist. Only when we come to judge the attitude from the point of view of wider knowledge or broader sympathy is it possible for us to recognize it as superstition or prejudice. In short, both prejudice and superstition are relative terms and change as knowledge increases and sympathy grows. A fundamental distinction between them is that superstition is predominantly intellectual; prejudice is essentially volitional in character.

The importance of prejudice is well known to labor managers, salesmen and advertisers, politicians and statesmen, the press, religious leaders, educators, and social workers. White workmen frequently refuse to work at the same trade with colored men, and generally will not work under colored foremen; the public has unexplained buying prejudices which are at once the despair and the hope of the advertiser; voters can be swayed by political demagogues who appeal to their class and race prejudices; practical governmental administrators must take account of the antipathies which various groups in the state show toward each other; the press alternately dep-

³See Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems*, p. 48.

recates and appeals to various prejudices; church and school face the problem, and social workers are in daily touch with attitudes which they have little power to modify but which set for them difficult problems in personal and social adjustment.

Prejudice may be either positive or negative with reference to an object; that is, it may be partiality for as well as aversion for a thing.

The particular prejudices, whether positive or negative, which one entertains (as we have previously observed) are dependent upon his scale of values. To understand the prejudices of given individuals or groups it is necessary to know their wants. Further, the wants of a given person are not unchangeable. Appetites and wishes change and the values associated with them change. The attitudes toward food and sex, for example, change profoundly as one passes from hunger to satiety; intense cravings give way to aversion and eventually to nausea. The desire for new experience changes to a longing for familiar faces and scenes. Wanderlust is succeeded by nostalgia. In a wholesome personality there is a healthy balance between antithetical desires and a measure of regularity occurs in the oscillations between hunger and satiety.

Prejudices are, therefore, dynamic, not static; they change as appetites and wishes change and they vary from individual to individual and group to group.

We do not, however, define our attitudes as prejudices so long as our conviction in the validity of our "conditional absolutes," to use a telling phrase coined by Josiah Royce,^{*} remains unchallenged. It is only when wider knowledge, newer purposes, better methods appear and

^{*}*The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, Lecture 12.

challenge the old that their relativity becomes apparent. Even then we should take little account of our prejudices as such if we could immediately accept new beliefs with full conviction in their finality. That is difficult. Old beliefs, like old habits, cling to us long after the situation from which they sprang and the purpose which they served have passed. Beliefs lag behind in the process of change and thus lose their original meaning. As soon as we perceive some incongruity between an attitude which we entertain and the changed state of our information, our ideals, or our technique, we may recognize that the belief is a prejudice. This is the basis for our moral evaluation of prejudice. Prejudices are in some way out of harmony with the newer conditions of life and are therefore thought of as harmful and bad. This judgment, however, applies only to those attitudes whose inapplicability is in some measure evident to us. Many of our values are accepted as wholly valid; we embrace them whole-heartedly for the time being as if they were final and absolute. Only those who have a wider point of view, broader sympathies, and better methods of control will regard them as prejudices. We ourselves come to do so only when experience has broadened our outlook upon life.

Racial prejudice differs from prejudice generally in one important respect. One may change his politics or his religion; he may learn new languages and customs, or change the cut of his coat. If the change is successfully made he may, in the course of time—depending on the length of men's memories—become fully assimilated into a new group. As he becomes identified with them he escapes the fire of prejudice directed against his former political and religious beliefs, his mother tongue, and the

earlier style of his clothes. When, however, the prejudice is directed against the color of his skin, his features, or any other racial trait, he cannot avoid the effects of prejudices aroused by these traits. He is a marked man. The fact that these traits may be superficial weighs but lightly in the balance against the inescapable fact that he is different and cannot be assimilated except through racial amalgamation. At just that point, however, race prejudice runs highest.⁵

Idealists have succeeded in numerous cases in developing highly tolerant attitudes, but not without serious struggles with their prejudices. It is probably too much to hope that the mass of men can be brought to such a state of mind. Rather we may expect that racial adjustments will be made upon the basis of racial differences. That is, for the immediate future, at least, interest in the solution of the social problems created by race prejudice can center to best advantage upon schemes for racial accommodation.

⁵It is, however, frequently directed only against those relations which will legitimize offspring, enable them to share in the property rights and the social prerogatives of the dominant group. That is, the mores sanction illegitimate amalgamation.

THE SOCIAL VALUE OF COMMUNITY READING

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Although depreciating the tendency toward the fallacy of numbers, obviously the first point to consider in the determination of the social influence of general public or community reading is to see how many the institution, forming the basis for the study, directly touches. The library in question is in a community of about 2500 inhabitants. On the library records there are 625 enrolled, but of this 625 only 150 are active and consistent readers. That is, about 21 per cent of the community are enrolled, but only 6 per cent are active users. This 6 per cent comprises men, women, and children. While exact figures are not available for the proportion of each class of readers, it is safe to say that the vast majority are boys and girls of grammar and high-school ages. Where only 6 per cent of the community is touched in a direct and immediate way by the institution, the influence of this 6 per cent must be very potent if they are to exercise any social influence at all.

The above figures merit comparison with those of a larger neighboring town. This neighboring town has an approximate population of 40,000 people. According to

*EDITOR'S NOTE: The author is a member of the board of trustees of the local library, and has also served as librarian for a few years. In answering the question he has drawn upon his personal experience, and, in addition, made full use of the records and reports of the library.

the librarian's report for 1923-1924 (from June to June) there were 9,370 borrowers with about 2,170 on the active list. That would put 23 per cent of the population on the registered list, and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent active users of the facilities of the local library. Of course, two instances are by no means sufficient for a general conclusion, but it does seem significant that the two communities should so nearly agree in their percentages.

The influence of general public reading can be determined by an investigation of the reading of this 6 per cent reading public. What is the character of the books these people read, and how well do these books help the reader in his social adjustments to contemporary life.

Investigation shows a tremendous demand for books of adventure, particularly "western stuff," as the boys say, and the demand does not stop with the boys, for the grown-ups seek this type of fiction also. Apparently that appeals which has most to do with elemental nature, with the mountains and the plains, the canyon and the precipice, with wild animals and all the dangers attendant upon a close contact with nature. Battles with storm and flood, with wild animals, between man and man in a very primitive fashion, have a great appeal and muster many readers.

The writer recalls one book in particular, entitled *Man to Man*, on which the boys made a veritable run. There was a constant inquiry for the book; boys would come in merely to inquire if *Man to Man* were in, and would often go out immediately on hearing that it had not been returned. The records show this book to have been out 25 times in one year, or about once every two weeks. This, however, is not representative, for many of the boys complained that some of the others, who were

fortunate enough to get the book, were lending it to their friends, and keeping it out the full allotted time.

The Call of the Canyon by Zane Grey is a better representative of the demand for western adventure; it has been out 22 times in 7 months; that is, on the average of once every $9\frac{1}{2}$ days. In fact, Zane Grey's books are subject to such heavy usage that they are soon in need of repair or replacement. *Buck Peter Ranchman* with its unambiguous title is another among the many which illustrates the demand for books of adventure. It has been out 17 times in 7 months, or about once every $12\frac{1}{2}$ days. Averaging up a large list of purely adventure books, and particularly western adventure, one finds them to have gone out about once every 15 days.

One finds it difficult, however, to discover what value the reading of adventure of this kind has for the reader as far as helping him to better adjust himself to contemporary life. The conditions of life in the society in which he finds himself are by no means the primitive conditions of life such as the reader finds in his books. Therefore, his reading contributes little or nothing by way of helping him to more efficiently adjust himself to the social organization of which he is a part.

Indeed, it is easily conceivable that this type of reading has a detrimental social influence. The youthful reader encounters in these books a more or less lawless environment—one that is free from many of the social restraints such as he knows; where a man is largely a law unto himself, or takes the law into his own hands. This condition of life the youthful reader finds very congenial to his make-up; the relative lack of restraint appeals to him as somewhat akin to heaven. He revels in the exploits of the hero with whom he identifies himself, and

may later even try to imitate some of his hero's adventurous experiences. It is impossible to know the extent to which this form of literature becomes the inspiration of juvenile delinquency and crime, but that it is an incentive together with the "movies" of the same type, social workers, like Jane Addams and others, never fail to point out.¹

Another class of reading that is in great demand among the 6 per cent who use the local library is fiction of a romantic character. Books with a large sex appeal and of sloppy sentimentality, with absurd and distorted views of life by an over-emphasis on romantic love, have a large coterie of readers. Books with titles like *Bridge of Kisses*, *An Unknown Lover*, or with matrimonial associations like *The Marriage of Theodora*, or *The Man Thou Gavest Me*, are snatched with avidity from the shelves. In fact, they seldom stand on the shelves for long. Both high-school girls and women of more mature years are found to number heavily among the devotees of such literature.

The records show the first book named to have been out once every 12 days; *The Marriage of Theodora*, once every 15 days; *The Man Thou Gavest Me*, once every 13 days. For a large group of these books the general average of withdrawal was once every 16½ days. This average is a little less than that for adventure, but indicates the books to be in circulation almost all the time.

Again, it is difficult to see the social value of such reading in assisting the reader to live in better harmony with his—in this case, however, it is more often her—social environment. For here we find one phase or relationship of life so segregated and emphasized as to be

¹Jane Addams, *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, "The Quest for Adventure."

out of proportion with all the other relationships that go to make up modern life. On the contrary, such lopsidedness rather makes for social maladjustment, and is undoubtedly a contributory factor in social unrest, especially as reflected in the great increase in divorce in this country.

Because this class of fiction sets up a false notion of life, like a mirage in the desert, and because this comes in connection with one of the most important and vital relationships of life, and finally, because it is fraught with the possibilities of much unnecessary havoc,—this class of reading is a social liability, and must go on the debit side of the social ledger.

The third form of reading that completes the trilogy of appeal to the 6 per cent reading public is that of detective and mystery stories. We find teachers, professors, and preachers included in the list of those who read this material, as well as the ordinary lay reader. A reference to the records showed this class of books to be out on the average of once every 15 days. The nearby library, already referred to, had so many requests at the desk for books of this kind that the staff collected together in a separate section all its detective and mystery stories, for its own convenience, and for the convenience of the mystery reading public.

Many of the readers of these books apparently feel that they must justify themselves in the eyes of the librarian, at least, for they are careful to assure him that they merely read for relaxation. They read, in other words, to get away from the cares and demands of social life rather than to learn how to become better related to their social environment with less strain. And furthermore, it is impossible to see how any social ideals could

possibly come out of such reading. On the whole, it is a relatively innocent and useless pastime. One is inclined to rate it as James Harvey Robinson rated metaphysics when he said: "I am inclined to rate it, like smoking, as a highly gratifying indulgence to those who like it, and, as indulgences go, relatively innocent."²

Meanwhile, books of a better caliber that would contribute to social living are neglected by the vast majority of the reading 6 per cent of the community. Books like the *Outline of History*, *New Decalogue of Science*, *Mind in the Making*, *Papini's Life of Christ*, languish on the shelves awaiting readers. They are even put in conspicuous places on little easels with the sign "Have you read this?" but, in spite of all efforts, the reading public passes them by.

These books make a sorry showing in the extent of withdrawal when compared with adventure, romance, and mystery stories. Take, for example, the *Outline of History*, the records show this book to have been out on the average of once every 10 weeks. The *New Decalogue of Science* has been in circulation about six months and has been out twice in that time. *The Mind in the Making* has been out about once every 13 weeks, and *Papini's Life of Christ* has been out about once every 8 weeks. A general average of withdrawal for this type of literature would run about once every 12 weeks.

Even the classics are seldom disturbed. The library has on its shelves a handsomely bound set of Shakespeare in thirteen volumes. The records for the entire set show these books to have been out about 43 times in 10 years; four of the volumes have never been out. Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, Hawthorne, and others are similarly

²James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, p. 102.

neglected. Classic poetry is likewise neglected. Evidently, required school reading creates no appetite for the classics. Indeed, it seems to create an aversion for them.

Considering once again the library in the larger neighboring community, the investigator finds it has a much better record for non-fiction reading. Here, broadly speaking, the division for fiction and non-fiction during 1923-24 (June to June) was 57 per cent fiction and 43 per cent non-fiction as compared with 86 per cent and 14 per cent, respectively, in the smaller town.

Then again, the report of the larger community shows 6.45 per cent of the reading to be in the field of sociology itself, which is the highest percentage of all the twelve subjects into which the non-fiction reading is divided. Thus, the larger community shows its general reading to have a relatively larger social value than in the smaller community.

The use of the magazine table is interesting as reflecting the general attitude. For instance, *The Literary Digest* is seldom read except to be occasionally referred to by some pupil in connection with a school report. This appears to be the only purpose of that magazine in the eyes of the boys and girls. The *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's* are seldom disturbed. As for *Everybody's*, it is nobody's, for no one reads it. On the other hand, *Life* is always in demand, and *Popular Mechanics* is soon thumbled and soiled by the heavy usage to which the boys subject it. Thus, the magazine table does not contribute much toward social education where only humor and mechanics are constantly read.

Turning for the moment from the purely social value of general reading, we will consider its literary and educational value for the individual. The general reader

reads primarily for the plot. He often becomes so engrossed in the plot as to be totally unconscious of the words, sentences, literary structures and devices. Sometimes he becomes so engrossed as to be totally oblivious of his own physical environment, like the boy who was caught unawares by his father reading a forbidden "Black Diamond Dick" story. The boy was so lost in the tale that he failed to perceive the entrance of his father, and was unaware of his father's presence until he felt a heavy hand on his shoulder. Confusing this with the events in his book, he cried out with a threatening voice, "Unhand me villain or there'll be bloodshed!" To which the father, according to the story, made the undramatic reply that there would not be bloodshed but woodshed—a sorry anticlimax to a very promising episode.

However true that may be, it illustrates in exaggerated form the fascination with the plot to the exclusion of the words. These are skimmed over, and no conscious reaction is made to them; they are as though they were not. If they do get in the reader's way, the book is not a good one. Consequently, he gets little education in expression or composition, for, as the psychologists assure us, we really learn only those things to which we consciously react. We can look at our watches for years without knowing whether the numerals are Arabic or Roman, and if Roman, whether the four on its face is IIII or IV. By the same token the general reader can read scores of books of the popular variety without any appreciable advance in his powers of expression, oral or written, and in literary appreciation.

Another writer has the same thing to say: "With the young, at least, the most enthusiastic reading is often the most slovenly, the engrossment with the mere tale be-

getting an indifference little short of philistine to every appeal, even from beauty itself."³

Certain writers, knowing the form of popular appeal, endeavor to use this appeal as a means of teaching historical matters. Many of them are very clever at "fictionizing" history, so much so that it is often difficult to know where history ends and fiction begins, unless one has a knowledge of the historic period. To name merely two exceedingly popular books where the writers have done this "fictionizing" with consummate skill, there is Emerson Hough's, *Covered Wagon*, and Rafael Sabatini's, *Scaramouche*. After hearing the general reader discuss these books, one is convinced, however, that the history is subordinate, and simply furnishes so much stage setting for the individuals to act in.

The historic background, like the background in photographs, is completely out of the focus of attention. The reader's eyes are fastened on the actions of the individual characters so that he fails to see and appreciate the historical movements, the social organization and relationships upon which the fortunes of the individual characters depend, and by which they are shaped. He looks only for the plot, and sees what he looks for; the rest is mere stage setting to give the hero a chance to express himself. As far as the average reader's reaction is concerned, the setting might just as well have been written as a vehicle for the hero's exploits as to have any historical foundation, for he misses the historical significance entirely. Unfortunately then, in spite of the author's art and skill in the use of popular appeals, the educational value as far as the history is concerned is often lost.

³Sophy H. Powell, *The Children's Library a Dynamic Factor in Education*, p. 31.

Many of the youthful readers have a fine adventurous debauch and nothing more.

Why people prefer the types of fiction they read to other forms of literature would make an interesting psychological and philosophical study. Obviously, in the last analysis, people read these books because they are written, and they are written because people will read them—a vicious circle.

To be specific, however, as to what influences readers in the selection of their books, one finds personal recommendation by kindred spirits to be before and beyond all other influences. If the librarian suggests a book, in most instances, that book is the last one the reader would select; he seems to suspect some ulterior motive back of the suggestion. Sometimes quite the reverse is true; the reader asks the librarian to suggest a good book, or asks if such and such a book is good. This, however, the experienced librarian is quite loth to do, for later he usually receives adverse criticism for his recommendations, which at times amounts to an impugning of his judgment. The writer recalls an earlier librarian who resented this treatment very much. This man, who was by nature short and direct in his ways, when solicited for the title of a good book, answered briefly and summarily,—“The Bible.” He said this in such a way that the solicitor never mistook his meaning. Theoretically, the librarian may be thought to be in a position to radically influence reading, but practically he cannot begin to compete with the influence of friends and kindred spirits.

Then again, a glaring and appealing title will often determine a choice. Many books have what may be called “box office titles,” taking a term from the theatre, and might have been written by an advertising agency. Such titles as: *The Riding Kid from Powder River*,

The Enchanted Canyon, and *Wild Horses*, leave no doubt as to their adventurous character; *The Unknown Seven*, *Mystery of the Hasty Arrow*, *Mystery of the Yellow Room*, are titles that clearly advertise their contents; and again, there is no mistaking the content of books with such titles as, *An Unknown Lover*, *Years for Rachel*, and *The Man Thou Gavest Me*. Because their titles contain unmistakably one of the fundamental appeals for the average reader, these books are constantly chosen, and are in circulation the best part of the time.

A few books are selected because they gain widespread popularity throughout the country. *Main Street*, *Babbitt*, and *If Winter Comes* were decidedly in this class. Yet, strange to say, there were many dissenting opinions in regard to these books, particularly *Main Street*. Many of the local readers did not like the book because it lacked a plot; some said that they read several chapters hoping it would become interesting, by which they meant that a plot would develop, but with no indication of such development they gave it up in disgust. For the average reader a book must have a fascinating plot or he will have none of it; character study, no matter how cleverly done, is art wasted on him.

The dramatization of novels by the "movies" has occasioned the reading of these novels by many. A questionnaire sent out in 1922 by a committee representing the National Committee for Better Films and the Russell Sage Foundation showed that 26,000 young people read 47,000 books as a direct result of seeing motion pictures.

Sometimes the recommendation of a book by a teacher is accepted, although pupils are usually suspicious of such recommendations; they fear the books will be educational and uninteresting, like their assigned and re-

quired readings, on the basis of which they make the educational and uninteresting association.

Finally, a rumor of spiciness, raciness, or salaciousness, has a sinister appeal for many, like the deliciousness of forbidden fruit.

This last consideration opens up the question of the censorship of books. The local library under discussion has a committee whose duty it is to supervise the choice and purchase of books, and to censor all books, both purchased and donated, in the interests of morals and social ethics. This committee does its work faithfully, and as well as any imperfect mortals could be expected to do. Nevertheless, it does not fail to encounter much difference of opinion and criticism from the outside. It is interesting to notice how ready folks are to set themselves up as keeper of their brother's morals. One of them reads a book and decides that it is not a proper book for his fellow-citizens to read. He very loudly and clamorously states the fact to the librarian, and never fails to express surprise at the lack of judgment on the part of the committee. Of course, one's criticisms are determined by the philosophy of life to which one is committed. An old Quaker lady is firmly convinced that the committee has totally degenerated, like the pagan social life of today. While it is interesting to note the solicitude for each other's morals, it goes without saying that if everyone had a voice in determining what books should be available, there would be no books at all.

The problem that is ever before this committee is the problem inherent in democracy itself. That problem is whether to give the people what they want, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, to give them what they really need. Thoroughgoing democracy requires the former,

but often the latter course would best conserve and further the interests of democratic social life. The committee, however, leans perceptibly toward the former course, although not altogether. In the selection of books a few distinctly educational and cultural books are chosen, but by far the preponderant proportion is the recreational type of fiction which the 6 per cent reading public demand. Consequently, out of 3,000 volumes three-quarters are of the light fiction type previously enumerated. Even this proportion represents nothing in the matter of reading, for, as already shown, the reading public of the community blissfully ignores the one-quarter which would develop their thinking, make more poignant their social contacts, and help in their social adjustments and progress.

From all that has gone before one can readily see that these people do not read for the purpose of social adjustment and improvement, but rather, they read to get away from the pressure and limitations of modern social life. They seek escape through imagination, fancy, and dreams. Anything pleases the reader so long as it takes him from the drab, prosaic, and narrow routine of modern life with its economic and mechanistic emphasis. If his reading takes him from the social world in which he lives into an unreal world of different environing conditions, far from the practical pursuits and problems of every-day life, the average reader makes no further demand of his reading.

He does not seek to discover, through his reading, means whereby he might change his environment to more nearly conform with his dreams. Perhaps this is a good thing, because much of his imaginary world is one wherein the elemental nature revels to its heart's content,

and a social condition where this could actually take place would mean a reversion to a more primitive type of social organization. Apart from that, however, the reader is not interested in changing his environment, in making it more ideal in the sense that it feeds his whole nature. So long as he can artificially feed and stimulate some elements in his nature, he is perfectly willing to let the social environment go on, imperfect as it is. Like the drunkard who finds escape from himself and his surroundings through drink, these "fiction-inebriates" find escape through reading.

In view of these conditions, the conclusion is forced on one that local reading is not of great social value. Where only a small proportion of the community do much reading; where that small proportion read primitive adventure, sloppy romance, impossible mysteries, and neglect the better forms of literature; where reading becomes an escape mechanism from social conditions and surroundings with no interest in their modification or improvement, so long as escape is possible through "fiction-intoxication," it cannot be said that general public reading makes a very great contribution to social adjustment and progress, no matter how influential a librarian's report may sound in round numbers.

How much the conditions portrayed here reflect conditions in general throughout the country cannot be definitely stated. While the writer hopes they are better in other places, he believes the town studied to be a representative "Main Street" town, and not at all different from other rural towns of the same size. So that the conditions revealed here probably indicate pretty well—although not with scientific precision—the character and social value of "Main Street" reading.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD

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As used in this study, the term *questionnaire* does not refer to standardized scales. Neither does it include standardized tests intended to measure mental ability or educational progress. It refers to the method of gathering data by means of uniform blanks which are given to the individuals who are to supply desired information. These blanks may consist of a set of definite questions bearing upon some special subject or they may include a series of statements ranging from one extreme phase of a subject to the other and from which the person is instructed to choose the ones which he considers most nearly true. This method of research is impersonal inasmuch as stimulation resulting from personal contact is nearly always absent and, in many instances, the author of the questionnaire is unknown to the person who receives it.

A few months ago, the writer made a study of attitudes of the men teachers in a certain junior high school. Data were collected through the use of two questionnaires, one of which was meant to reveal factors concerning the professional background of the teachers, and the other was supposed to disclose their attitudes upon definite subjects of sociological significance. Results were forthcoming and it is possible that they might have been considered accurate and satisfactory under different circumstances, but it so happened that the writer was centering his study upon men with whom he had been associated rather intimately for a period of two years and the conclusions

based upon the material revealed by the questionnaires failed in many instances to correspond to information which had been gained through the natural processes of personal interviews. After searching for causes of the discrepancies, it was concluded that the method used for the purpose of discovering attitudes was at fault,—that the questionnaires failed to tell the whole truth; these experiences motivated the following study of questionnaire efficacy.

The questionnaire method of research is valuable, but it must be realized that the field within which it can be used successfully is limited. It is most efficient when the material sought is objective, such as many of the factors included in a community survey, e. g., vocational classification, church membership, housing, etc.; or when dealing with subjective factors of human experience after they have been brought out into the open and made objective. Such information can be revealed with speed and accuracy by means of well constructed questionnaires, for they make it easy to secure facts from large numbers of people. Data collected in this way readily lend themselves to classification and thus possess worth for comparative purposes. The popularity of this type of research is probably due to the possibilities which make its application and interpretation in the objective field relatively simple.

When employed for the purpose of disclosing data in their subjective form, the questionnaire method is inaccurate and its results are often misleading. This is especially true when the attempt is made to reveal *attitudes*. Briefly defined, an attitude is an individual's way of responding to his life environment. It is the "set" in one's mental life. An accurate knowledge

of attitudes is fundamental to an understanding and interpretation of personal experiences, for attitudes are both causes and results of personal experiences. To determine a person's attitudes, his most natural responses and reactions to environment must be observed over a period of time sufficiently long to insure precision.

There are several reasons why the questionnaire method cannot disclose attitudes accurately. First, the impersonal element fails to arouse certain emotions which accompany social communion and make "sympathetic introspection" possible. Many times the writer of a questionnaire is unknown to the person who answers it and the task of filling it out is apt to be considered simply as an unpleasant duty. The same questions, if asked by a friend during personal conversation, would doubtless bring forth more accurate evidence of attitudes for, under these conditions, the person would be influenced less by a feeling of restraint.

Second, the questionnaire is not able to remove uncertainties as to meaning which might arise in the minds of individuals endeavoring to answer the questions. The writer recently attended a meeting in which the members were requested to fill out a questionnaire. In order that the questions might be answered under the same conditions by all who were present, the leader refused to answer any questions. It is not difficult to see that a person's written statement is worth little if his interpretation of the question is not the one intended.

Third, the questionnaire method presents a temptation to answer the questions for the resulting effect. A person can so easily write on paper that which will reveal himself to the best advantage and, if that is done, the results are valueless.

Fourth, the questionnaire encourages brief, concise answers. This tendency towards *formality* makes tabulation of results comparatively easy, but it is a source of weakness with regard to disclosing attitudes, for, as previously implied, evidence of attitudes involves more than snap judgments or brief statements.

Fifth, the questionnaire often asks questions too directly and arouses antagonisms and inhibitions.

In conclusion, it may be repeated that the questionnaire method is valuable for collecting data in the objective form. However, when searching for data that are subjective or in "the back of a person's mind," for example, attitudes, one is not justified in giving much weight to results which are obtained by this method of research, for the facts thus accumulated can readily lead to inaccurate deductions and false conclusions inasmuch as they are probably not rooted in the innermost emotions and experiences of the individuals supplying them.

An interesting exception to the above generalization is the *life history* type of questionnaire, such, for example, as has been used in connection with the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey. Its effectiveness in revealing attitudes is due mainly to the fact that it approaches the problem indirectly. By centering attention upon ordinary occurrences and items of personal interest as a means of encouraging the interviewee to relate his experiences freely, this type of questionnaire collects data from which attitudes can be deduced. Its degree of accuracy is directly proportional to the measure of confidence that is felt in the one for whom it is being "written out," and to the degree in which it stimulates, not "yes" and "no" answers, but "a full, free, and intimate confession" of experiences and their correct interpretations.

FLOTSAM*

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Like flotsam swept by the river's urge
Are the tired, driven feet
That surge twixt the towering walls of greed
In the rush of the city street . . .

Now lost in the roaring flood that swirls
On to an unknown goal,
Or drifting, eddying near the shore,
Caught in a deadly shoal.

Now hidden rocks and dashing spray—
Gleaming a second—gone—
Lost in the swirling chaos below
Where the current surges strong.

Flinging lives like bubbles and froth
Up on the frowning wall,
Watching the airy hopes of the day
Sparkle a moment—then fall.

Bubbles, froth, and sparkling spray—
All lost in the surge and roll
That sweeps the struggling souls of men
On to an unknown goal.

Aye, flotsam swept by the river's urge
Are the tired, driven feet
That surge twixt the towering walls of greed
In the rush of the city street.

*Copyright, Frances M. Goodcell.

THE SECOND GENERATION ORIENTAL-AMERICAN

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The popular idea seems to be quite deeply rooted that Congress, in passing the Exclusion Act, waved a magic wand which settled all problems once and for all. A large number of people seem to be utterly oblivious to the fact that there are in the United States several thousand native-born Chinese and Japanese who are American citizens. These American-born persons are treated, to all intents and purposes, as if they were alien Orientals.

Since the native-born person of Asiatic parentage has the physical ear-marks of his ancestry, the average American reacts to him in the same way and classifies him with his alien parents—to all outward appearances he has been properly labelled. But neither the parents nor children accept this superficial judgment. "You look like a Japanese, but you are not one; you do not think as we do," said an older Japanese to one of the younger group. In making comment on the expression this person said: "Yes, I do find that I differ from them and disagree with them." That is the situation in a nutshell; they are Oriental in appearance but not in reality. These young persons speak the best of English and betray not the slightest foreign accent; they can use the latest slang and make humorous plays upon English words which indicates that they have mastered the language. Moreover, they are not learning the mother tongue. In some in-

stances they are ashamed of that language and will not speak it, even if they can, lest they be labelled as Asiatics. These persons have the ideas, ideals, sentiments and attitudes of the American and not of the Oriental. Even though they be sent to the foreign language school, which has been criticized as un-American, they do not become Orientals. One Chinese said of his children: "They may go to night school and on Saturday and learn some of the language. However, they don't get Chinese customs and they have no idea about Chinese history and traditions." A study of Japanese children in the schools of California has brought out the fact that in American history they tend to rank very high. But about the history of the Orient they know little and care less; they seem to be more interested in Africa and South America than in China or Japan.

As with any other immigrant group there is coming to be a cleavage between the parents and the children who have been reared in America. When these children have been trained in our schools and have come into contact with the "blooming, buzzing confusion" of American life they drift away from the old people and their Asiatic heritages, not only in speech but in sentiments and thoughts as well. There develops an actual conflict between two widely divergent ideals. In the Orient the *family* is all important, but in America the *individual* obtrudes himself into the foreground. When these two ideals clash there is often difficulty. The situation may be set forth in the words of the actors in this drama of life. "I feel the restraints imposed by the Chinese traditions," said one girl. "I feel the restraints imposed upon the girls; we are not permitted to go out to socials or to have good times as the American girls have. My

parents sometimes permit us to go out with a group, but they do not permit me to go out alone with a boy—I have wanted to do it but have yielded to them. I have wanted to work—just to do any kind of work to feel that I was doing something and making my own way,—but my parents would not listen to it. I wanted to go into some office or store, but had to give that up. The subject, however, is coming up again since my sister is wanting to work, and she is more independent than I am.” A glance at the younger group through the eyes of an older Chinese will give the other point of view and incidentally reveal the yawning chasm between them.

The children here, he says, have no respect for the old people. It is not so in China; there they respect them. But here, if you are old, they think you ought to die. When the boy is twenty-one he says, ‘I am twenty-one and I will do as I please.’ When the girl is eighteen she says, ‘I am eighteen and I can do as I please.’ The father will want to advise them and will say, ‘I think it is better this way,’ but the young people will reply, ‘We want to do this way, and we are going to do this way.’ I see this so often in families. I believe in liberty, but I think in some ways there is too much among the young people.

The children do not appreciate the point of view of the parents, and in this rebellion against their control throw off the restraining and directing influences of home before they have learned self-control or have been able to make wholesome adjustments to the new order. The parents also begin to realize that the traditions which they have brought with them do not function efficiently in this new environment, but they are at a loss as to what should be done. This leads to a certain amount of disorganization and demoralization in the younger group. Gradually, however, new adjustments and accommodations are being made and the situations are being redefined so that new codes of conduct emerge. This process

is a gradual one, however, and there is much uncertainty and vacillation.

The desire for emancipation brings the culture of the parental group into contempt—in some instances the children make sport of the customs of their elders and in other cases they have actually felt ashamed of them. "When my uncle came from China," said one person, "he looked so odd that I laughed at him. I do not have any difficulty in distinguishing 'green' Chinese." "In my younger days," said one girl, "I used to make sport of Japanese ways because they seemed so queer. I and my brother used to say that if we ever went to Japan we would speak English and use words the Japanese could not understand and then make fun of them." They endeavor to break away and become fused into the American group. They consider themselves Americans and are desirous of acquiring status in this group. They feel that such recognition will be more likely to come if they separate themselves from their racial group, and they are willing to make sacrifices to bring this about. "Even though I have mingled freely with Americans," said a Japanese girl, "I do not feel perfectly at ease at times, and to get rid of this awkwardness I am at present working in an American home just to learn their ways and their etiquette. I want to be able to go any place without making some break. My mother, however, does not want me to work in this way. In fact, at times it hurts my pride, but I want to learn." All too frequently, however, they encounter difficulties, for they find to their sorrow that, despite the fact that they are quite thoroughly Americanized, the American group is unwilling to receive them and make provision for the satisfaction of their fondest desires. For the most part these rebuffs

are accepted as part of the game and act as spurs to renewed efforts to overcome obstacles, but some persons begin to idealize the Orient and make plans to go there for a life work. As a result of this situation the future cannot be read with certainty.

Even though the children of Orientals have difficult problems to face they are not crushed down, but they have certain aspirations and ambitions which lead them on. The desire for an American education seems to be quite strong among them for they attend high schools and colleges in considerable numbers. They are making good scholastic records and appear to be making the most of their opportunities. The attendance officers know nothing about the homes of the Orientals because they do not have to go there; the children are rarely absent except for sickness. A number of the Japanese, both old and young, have reached the conclusion that if the members of the rising generation are to make a place for themselves in American life they must be well prepared.

They are eager to have a vocational entrance into the American group. They are eager to enter the various professions and skilled employments where they may be on an equality with the American whites. They are not satisfied to restrict their activities to manual labor or to the selling of vegetables.

There are many disadvantages in having the facial features of an Oriental in America, for even those of American birth and citizenship must work against serious handicaps. There is discrimination against them in industry. Even those who have graduated with honors from our best universities find it difficult to secure positions—the places open to them are of an inferior sort with but limited opportunities for advancement. A Har-

vard graduate in engineering was doing janitor work and a Stanford graduate in history and political science has been conducting a vegetable stand for several years. "There is no color line drawn against Oriental students attending school but there is a line drawn against employing our students after they have graduated from the institutions of higher learning," said a Chinese. "Business firms on the Pacific Coast offer us no opportunity to practice what we learn at the school." Even in civil service positions there is discrimination against them. The vocational problem is a serious one because these Oriental groups have no factories or big business establishments which can absorb their own college graduates.

Members of the Oriental groups are restricted in their access to many organizations such as clubs, the Y. M. C. A. and various churches.

At one time, states a boy, I was playing basket-ball on a Sunday School team of an American church and we played at the Y. M. C. A. I could tell that I was not wanted there, but because I played on that team they did not deny me any of the privileges. At that time some of the boys proposed my name for membership in the 'Y' and for a time it seemed that I would be admitted because my last name could pass for European, but when they came to my first name they knew that I was Japanese and then did not admit me. Some of the boys came to console me, but I did not feel badly because I had not expected to be taken in. An experience which my brother had gave me an idea of what I might expect. Although he was not an American citizen he enlisted in the medical service of the army during the World War. When the soldiers were mustered out they were given Y. M. C. A. tickets. My brother received one and understood that it gave him full privileges, but one day he took some exercises in the gymnasium and went to the shower room only to be denied the privilege of taking a shower bath. He was also denied the use of the plunge.

While in many instances they are not barred theoretically they are practically shut out by being made to feel

uncomfortable. In certain theatres they are given none but the most undesirable seats; in many restaurants and barber shops they can not be served, and even in department stores they receive slights.

These discriminations come as shocks to certain persons who have mingled freely with Americans in their early years and then have had the bars rudely raised against them.

I have been with this Philathea class so much that I am one of them, said one Japanese girl. I go to their homes, eat with them, sleep with them and take part freely in all their activities. In fact, this close association with these girls caused me a great disappointment at one time. Our Philathea class went to ——— Beach where we planned to have a good time in the plunge. We lined up at the ticket office and when I came to the window this girl said she wouldn't sell me a ticket. When I asked why, she snapped out that she had orders not to sell any tickets to Japs. That made me indignant.

These handicaps have a tendency to make some discouraged so that they begin to idealize the Orient and come to feel isolated and out of place here. Some are inclined to say, "What's the use?" Some Japanese boys were suggesting to one of their number who had graduated from high school that he go to college. He said to them, "You may go to college, but after graduation you fellows will come around to my vegetable stand begging me for a job." On the other hand others accept it as a challenge. They realize that they are placed at a disadvantage, but set to work to overcome this.

What now is being done to solve the problems of this group? Among the American whites there is no well articulated program. The majority do not distinguish these persons of American birth from their elders—they are all nothing but unassimilable aliens. They are of

different color and race and as such have no claim to be treated as human beings. On the other hand there is a group of sentimentalists of the "little brown brother" school in whose vocabulary the word "ought" bulks big. They would inundate a wicked world with their "sob-sister" preachments. From neither of these groups may anything constructive be expected. There are, however, a number who have been making close contacts with the group, such as the public school teachers, and who consequently appreciate their situation. They are making efforts to bring about a better understanding and are thus assisting them in making adjustments to American life.

The members of the Oriental racial groups are themselves facing the problems of the rising generation. As to the success with which they are handling the situation some inferences may be drawn from the fact that very few of their young people are known to the truant officers or to the Juvenile Court.

The adults are consciously endeavoring to work out solutions and carry on activities in behalf of the young people. The churches are changing their programs in an effort to provide for the younger group. The Japanese Associations foster certain activities to interest and stimulate them. In addition to these organizations there are certain individuals who are devoting much thought to the problem.

Most significant of all, however, is the fact that the younger groups themselves are consciously facing the problem and are endeavoring to work their way through. Groups of young people in the churches are aware of the situation and are turning away from the usual routine activities to programs which are more vital. The Young Men's Associations, the Native Sons, and citizenship

associations are also making a contribution. The most recent organization to make a bid for future leadership is the Japanese Student's Christian Association. They have all concluded that whining about the conditions will not produce results; they are determined to show the Americans that they can make good and will seek for recognition on the basis of merit alone.

THE STUDY OF CRITICAL SITUATIONS IN THE ORGANIZED FAMILY*

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In view of the increasing complexity of our social life and the rapid changes through which our social institutions are passing, the American family is being challenged to account for itself as an effective social organization in which to prepare children for citizenship and community life. It is quite evident, if we are to judge from the various reports made concerning the family as a social institution, that it is suffering from the effects of many disintegrating influences. It is said that about one out of every six families in America experiences some disorganization in the form of divorce, desertion, and various types of delinquencies. Our problem is *to discover the nature of the processes by which the other five families have succeeded in maintaining their unity and inducting their members into a successful adjustment with society's requirements.*

It would be expecting too much to find a family wholly free from errors committed against the best social standards and ideals of organized society. Though every ship has its storms, every one is not wrecked. We are interested here in the mechanisms that hold family life together in these critical situations. We cannot discover just what these mechanisms are unless we can find individuals who are willing to disclose them. It may seem that

*EDITOR'S NOTE: This study was begun by the author under the direction of Professors Ernest W. Burgess and Erle F. Young.

too much is asked of the writer of a family history to record everything, even when he is in possession of the desired information. Perhaps it is, and it is quite possible that a few would hesitate to respond to such a request. But, regardless of the critical periods through which the family has passed, one can find comfort in the fact that the family ship has weathered the storms, and in view of this fact he should feel justified in writing a complete description of that "storm" through which the family ship successfully passed. A description of the whole voyage is also needed, telling both its joys and its sorrows, fortunes and misfortunes.

The writer believes that a number of detailed family histories need to be prepared by those who have first-hand acquaintance with family life. In preparing such a history of an organized family, attention should be given to several points.

The object of such a study is to secure an accurate description of the habits, customs, attitudes, sentiments, wishes, impulses, disciplines, and ideals of the family group as these have found concrete expression in the lives of its members.

The purpose is to discover, in so far as the data will admit, the underlying principles of family organization conducive to a successful adjustment of its members in the life of the community. Whatever explanation is made respecting the forms and habits characterizing the life of the modern family will be accurate only in so far as the description of the facts is true and precise. We realize the difficulty of such a task. Much of this information must be gotten from the memory of the writer refreshed here and there from the memories of the other members of the family. It is quite likely that we may meet with

a few families who may have kept a partial record in the form of memoranda, albums, newspaper clippings, letters, et cetera, which will give information relative to many of the questions asked. But, regardless of whether or not there is such a record, it is quite possible that when one has gotten himself back, as it were, amid those scenes and situations marking the storm periods of family life, he will find himself reliving old experiences, and when in this attitude of mind, he will be in a fairly good position to write a very accurate description of the facts connected with his family history.

It may be helpful to define our use of the term "description." By description we mean a recording of the facts and experiences of one's life with a minimum of feeling and emotion. Those experiences are to be observed objectively. That is, the writer of a family history is told: "In so far as it is humanly possible, write about yourself and the members of your family from a detached point of view—as if you were not a member of the family."

Our interest is in the scientific study of family histories. In view of this fact, we seek not to be moved by idle curiosity when inquiring into a family history. A fact when taken alone has no value in itself. If we had just one family history, it would be worth nothing to us so far as this study is concerned. Before faces can tell us anything we must arrange them in order, observe them in relation to each other, and out of these relations discover the principles and laws governing and controlling the phenomenon which is to be explained.

However, the collector of family histories must treat them with *absolute privacy* and with the same professional spirit that prompts the family physician to hold in confidence the private affairs of the family health.

The student will have occasion to quote from the original materials. In order that an unrestrained confession of all of those facts so essential to an accurate and scientific study of the family may be made, it is suggested that fictitious names be employed throughout the account. For the purpose of preventing confusion it may be helpful to employ the middle or an unused name of a family member.

In writing the family history it is advisable to follow a somewhat detailed outline. This facilitates the classification of data. It is preferable, however, that the writer avoid following slavishly a list of questions. Our chief interest is in a connected account of all of the incidents belonging to a certain experience. Questions are used for the purpose of *tapping the resources of one's memory for the family experiences*. Therefore, the writer should not limit himself to the particular question at hand, but he should follow the trend of thought which it stimulates. It is not possible for any one person to formulate questions which fathom every situation in every family life.

With the exception of the merely factual information, which requires only a word or two for a complete answer, the writer should avoid such brevity as will leave the meaning of any descriptive fact in doubt.

It is not altogether desirable that one crowd the writing of a history into too short a time. Time is necessary to relive the experiences and recall as many of the conversations, sayings, and happenings as possible. Our interest is not so much in what a person or a family is today but in the processes that have made them what they are. If once we can understand the nature and character of these processes and mechanisms in the formation of personality (good or bad) and family behavior, we will

then be in a fair way to determine in advance what will take place under given conditions. Such knowledge is scientific and lays the basis for an effective control.

The questions of the outline should be directed to the writer of the history. The assumption is that the writer is an adult and is in position to write authoritatively about his father and mother, the brothers and sisters and their children. There are several places, however, where the writer will be called upon to bring in the history of his grandparents, and even where that is not solicited, any information relative to them is pertinent. In other words, we are interested in all of those social patterns influential in determining family behavior.

What benefits accrue to one who writes his family history?

1. He renders a service to society by providing data from which laws and principles governing family life may be formulated and in the end, in all probability, furnishes a body of materials that may be used for securing effective control of social relations.

2. In carrying out this project one also receives cultural benefits. He is enabled to get an insight into the complexity of family life and secure some first-hand information regarding its mechanisms. It is one thing to study *about* a social institution, such as that of the family, and quite another thing to study the institution itself. Such a study will give one a conception of the methods by which an attempt is being made to arrive at laws and principles controlling collective behavior—perhaps the main object of the science of sociology. By the time one has written his family history from this *detached point of view*, he will be given some notion of how other social

institutions need to be studied if the mechanisms involved are to be properly understood.

One does not need to be an accomplished writer to tell the story of his family life. Socrates said, "All men are eloquent in the things they know." A story told in simple language with strict adherence to the facts is most desirable for scientific purposes. Some of our most interesting and reliable data concerning human experience have come from the pens of people unschooled in the art of composition and literary style.

Space does not permit reproduction of a complete questionnaire but the writer classifies his questions thus:

1. Family Chronology.
2. Family Romances.
3. Family Economics.
4. Conflicts in the Household.
5. Family Conflict Situations Outside the Home.
6. Family Education.
7. Home Ties and Traditions.

THE BOY IN THE CITY

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The boy in the large city today is a new kind of social puzzle.¹ Some of his problems and conflicts are products of new social conditions and hence baffle even his experienced elders. The home, school, church, and other established institutions of society combined are unable in large numbers of cases to meet successfully the needs of the boy in the modern metropolitan city. Even expert social case workers are often helpless.

Moreover, the new problems and conflicts generated under modern city conditions come upon boys at earlier and earlier ages. The span of years in the lives of boys between control by parents and the development of maturity is surely lengthening. At younger and younger ages boys are facing more and more complex problems without proper guidance. The pitfalls along the road that is traversed by a boy as he moves from the state of a mere individual (a biological unit) to that of a mature person (a socially responsible being), are multiplying rapidly in cities. Urban communities, or the people who compose them, on the other hand, are only slightly aware of the problems they are creating for youth.

¹As judged by the results of the Boys' Work Survey of Los Angeles (1924-1925), conducted by the Social Research Staff of the University of Southern California and sponsored by the Rotary Club of Los Angeles. This paper is merely an introductory statement based on the findings of the Survey, which made a study of approximately 100,000 boys (ages 5 to 19.)

Conditions for boys are most disorganizing in the city districts where business is established, and also in those residence districts into which business is proudly pushing its way, transforming even the most stately mansions into drab and bedraggled rooming houses—mere shadows of their earlier splendor. The modern city in becoming an institution of, by, and for business, is squeezing many homes out of existence and others into ill-ventilated and over-crowded tenements, or into "homeless" apartments. "Wherever I go seeking an apartment," says a father of three boys, "I am turned away when I admit that I have three sons,—and sometimes at apartments where tenants with bulldogs in their laps smile pityingly at my dilemma. But what shall I do with my boys? Shall I chloroform them?"

The emblazoned march of business districts against home districts is presaged by the multiplication of apartment houses, even by those with automobile elevators, to enable skyline residents to step gently into their Rolls Royces direct from their tenth or fifteenth story dressing rooms. Then there are dark, congested "tenements," which are also mute evidences of the oncoming dominance of economic values.

The modern city is creating a harvest of overprivileged boys, of boys who while having the keys to their parents' car in their pockets, are prompted to steal another car, just for the "thrill,"—because life has become "so dull." Witness the case of the boy who was brought into court on a charge of grand larceny only to have the testimony show that the boy had been away from home three days and three nights without being missed by either his father or mother,—the former had been "so busy with business" and the mother with clubs and bridge and teas.

The city draws the poorest people into such a struggle for bread that when the boy returns from school he finds no one at home. He runs free and "wild." Undernourished, without adequate guidance, he becomes a restless rover of the streets. The parents, being involved so continually in the economic struggle and often being uneducated, are almost helpless in providing proper supervision for their children's development.

In matters of sex education of their children parents are generally backward and inefficient. They either do not feel much responsibility, or if they do, they are without scientific knowledge. Moreover, many parents who possess the necessary knowledge are at a loss how to proceed in instructing their children without bungling matters.

The school is working industriously to meet educationally the problems of city youth. With experimental research keyed to a high pitch, the school is slowly catching the meaning of its fundamental opportunity of socializing children. It is beginning to utilize wisely the methods of child guidance clinics (which usually turn out to be parental guidance clinics.)

But at three o'clock in the afternoon or thereabouts, the school relinquishes its supervision, and the boy comes daily under the influence of the various disorganizing as well as the constructive agencies of the "leisure hours" period. "What our school does for the boy during the four or five hours that he is here," says a principal, "is completely undone during the leisure hours after he has left our supervision."

The leisure hours of boys are their main danger points of disorganization. Often the situation is one of idle

hands; again one of too much money. First of all there is the trip home from school. It is often circuitous—by way of “down-town,” a show, or a resort miles away.

Upon a belated arrival home whether he be overprivileged or underprivileged his parents are either not at home or if at home, not free to be “bothered” with him. Consequently, away he goes by automobile for a joy-ride; or by foot, with other boys to wander aimlessly; to “hang out” on street corners or at pool halls.

When darkness arrives, the streets, a lark, or bed are his main choices. If overprivileged, his parents are either away or else they want “quiet,” but a quiet house is a most uninteresting place for a wide-awake boy. If underprivileged, the boy in the evening has no room or nothing new to do at home.

At any rate the time between school and bed are the boy's chief disorganization hours. Where the home and school are failing to meet the situation, disorganizing amusements made fascinating by all the skill and art that money can buy are often the boy's nemesis. Sometimes “the stripped Ford,” or the high-powered motor car carries the boy and his pals, or the boy and a girl far away where anonymity releases the ordinary bonds of propriety and morals. The public dance hall, the “road house,” the jazz orchestra, intoxicating liquor, and sometimes the “movies” with its indiscriminate panorama of all sorts of conduct patterns arouse passion and inhibit rational self-control.

The church as a guardian of morals and promoter of work-a-day religious patterns is failing to hold many boys beyond the ages of fifteen or sixteen years. Sunday School becomes dull and Sunday school teachers uninteresting. Sermons and public prayers seem “long and stupid” to

the boy. He takes outworn phrases literally and experiences disgust at the thought of being "washed in the blood."

Sunday diversements are increasing, and religious appeals face multiplying distractions. Other boys make fun of the church-going boy. To study the Bible and be called a "sissy" by one's pals is more than most boys can stand. In other words, the ideals and habits of a boy's pals are often the controlling factor in a boy's reactions to religion.

Although the church is still seeking in the main to impose adult-made religious programs upon boys, without understanding much either of the psychology or sociology of boys, it is on the other hand beginning to inaugurate a religious educational and a recreational procedure which carries the essence of a genuine religious spirit. It is also making progress in developing a technique and substance of religious teaching which meets the needs of boys today.

To cover the unsupervised stretches of time and space in a boy's life that the home, school, and church do not satisfy, boys' welfare work has sprung up. The playground movement, the Christian citizenship program of the Y. M. C. A., scouting, are outstanding tendencies generated by the inadequacy of the older social institutions. Nearly all these movements are working independently. The overlapping of activities and the neglect by all of important opportunities, have not been thoroughly considered by these agencies; neither have they studied their common problems co-operatively. The movement represented by the Councils for the Promotion of Boys' Work has excellent possibilities ahead.

The crying need expressed by nearly all the boys' wel-

fare agencies is for trained leadership. Psychologically and sociologically trained boys' leaders are still largely unrealized. The need for more originality in the programs, for a broader scientific basis, for more co-ordination, and for a multiplication of trained and paid leadership—all these are evident.

Although finely conceived and growing rapidly, the boys' welfare agencies have scarcely begun to fill in the gap left open by the home, school, and church in their supervision of boys. Thousands of boys annually in our largest cities are being complained against by adults as being delinquents. In consequence, juvenile courts, probation systems, the Big Brother movement, and other social welfare agencies as distinguished from the boys' welfare agencies already cited, have been established. The juvenile court is still struggling toward its ideal of exercising a scientific parental function. Handicapped often by having its judges chosen without regard to their psychological, psychiatric, and sociological training and by subservience to the politician's methods, it is making progress but slowly. Probation officers have not yet received the salary recognition whereby they can afford to become well-trained psychiatric and social case workers. With a load of 150 "cases" they cannot give the personal attention and stimulus either in quality or quantity to each client that he needs, and as a result, in part, probation fails.

A judge reports himself as being in a quandary, in a hopeless dilemma. Either the judge must send a convicted boy to jail, from which he emerges more disorganized than when he entered, or release him on probation where he falls in with the "gang," and soon "takes another auto" or commits a more serious offense. "If I

send him to jail, there is no hope for his improvement; if I release him there is a possibility that something will accidentally happen to him whereby his attitudes will be improved, and so I release him."

A conclusion of the whole matter is that the community must assume increasing responsibility for the making of its youth. The appropriation of more money for institutional (e. g. playgrounds) care and for personal (case work) care is important, but represents the lesser need. The greater emergency is for adults to give more of their thought and time to the welfare of boys. An hour less daily to business or to profession and an hour more to boys is the need. An hour less to "society," bridge, and teas, and an hour more to boys is a similar need. A sad statement of a young man writing to his father is this: "The greatest regret in my life is that when I was at home you did not have any time for me when I most needed it."

Book Notes

THE SOCIAL THEORY OF GEORG SIMMEL. By NICHOLAS J. SPYKMAN. The University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. xxiv+297.

The author undertook his task in the belief that "society, the great superindividual structure of man's own making, has become so large, so intricate, so complex, so independent of its Maker, that it threatens to overwhelm him and to make him the victim of his own creation," that it is no longer wise to trust blindly in social progress or in a benevolent Providence, and that man must master his social structure (society) as he has mastered nature "or his civilization will perish in suffering and bloodshed."

Therefore, a thinker such as Simmel, by his profound interpretations of life, of Western civilization and of modern culture deserves a hearing not yet accorded him because of the difficulty of access to his ideas. To this end the author has devoted himself wholeheartedly, and the result is noteworthy. Some of Simmel's concepts which are interpreted and clarified are: (1) society as a process, (2) life creates forms that lead to reactions creating still greater forms, (3) a social group consists of mental attitudes, (4) society is the form of socialization, (5) sociology is a special and limited science with a well-defined task: the study of the forms of socialization, (6) socialization is the growing into a unity, (7) the most important form of socialization is the relationship of leader and follower (superordination and subordination), (8) competition is indirect conflict.

The volume contains an excellent bibliography of books and articles by Simmel, numbering 137, and also of books and articles on Simmel. All persons interested in social theory are especially indebted to the author for creating this avenue to Simmel's thinking concerning society and socialization. It will serve as a basis for a new evaluation and criticism of Simmel's interpretation of life. E. S. B.

THE CHILD, THE CLINIC, AND THE COURT. By JANE ADDAMS, A. L. JACOBY, MIRIAM VAN WATERS, and others. New Republic Publishing Company, New York, 1925, pp. vi+344.

This volume includes the papers given at the recent meeting in Chicago commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first juvenile court, (established in Chicago in 1899.) Many of those who have played important parts in its development in Chicago and its spread over Europe and America participated. These papers include material dealing with the personality of the child, the mental hygiene clinic, and the scientific study of the child, as well as those on the history, methods, and philosophy of the juvenile court. E. F. Y.

THE LAWS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. The University of Chicago Press, 1925, pp. viii+320.

The author's unique attempt to formulate and discuss some of the major laws characteristic of social psychology, which he defines as the study of social activities, is introduced by a review and criticism of seven types of laws that have already been formulated in socio-psychological literature. He then analyzes social experiences, social tendencies (attitudes), and a social situation. The latter includes four factors: the social object, the expected result, the instrumental process, and the reflected self.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the formulation of thirteen laws, stated first technically and then in popular psychological terminology. For instance, the first of these is called the law of stabilization and points out that if, in a person's search for new experience, every subsequent experience assumes the character of a relatively negative value there will develop a desire or wish for stability. Other laws that the author formulates relate to mobilization, negative change, positive change, social repression, social sublimation, idealization, and social generalization.

The point of view is that of "a psychology of action," which is to be distinguished from a behavioristic psychology because the latter deals simply with stimulus and response and does not take "the agent primarily as a subject to whom changes of the milieu are given, but as an object in whose apparent reactions to the changes of other objects they are interested." Every experimental fact is to be thought of in three parts: change of conditions, act of the subject, and change of results, instead of being simply stimulus and response. The author has produced a challenging work. While the deductions need further testing they merit thoughtful examination.

E. S. B.

THE WORLD OF THE INCAS: A SOCIALISTIC STATE OF THE PAST. By ATFRED VON HANSTEIN. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1925, pp. 189.

This is the story of a communistic state developed to such a degree of perfection that Edward Bellamy could see in it his dream of the future. However, this civilization and those who built it vanished before the gold-thirsty Spaniard. The extinction of this peaceful and industrious people is given in some detail.

W. C. S.

ALLEGEMEINE SOZIOLOGIE. Teil I. BEZIEHUNGSLEHRE. Drucker and Humboldt, 1924, pp. xiii+309.

In this introduction to a general sociology the major theme is human relationships. Special indebtedness is expressed in the Preface to Simmel, Maxweiler, and E. A. Ross. Several references are made to Park and Burgess and the influence of their conceptual statement of sociology is

evident. Contacts between individuals are considered vital. Primary contacts are obtained through the senses, while secondary ones involve physical distances. The phenomena of social distance are hinted at, but not analyzed. Considerable attention is given to the processes of association, which are treated also as primary and secondary, on the basis of spatial distances.

In the main the order of treatment is: scientific relationships (social processes, social structures, social situations,) psycho-sociological approach, social philosophical approach, and general applications (in the field of politics, ethnology, law, biology, economics.) The author has combined a psychological analysis of social relations with the traditional social philosophy and general social science viewpoints. E. S. B.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE FEEBLEMINDED. By STANLEY P. DAVIES, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, 1923, pp. 222.

This study begins with a short survey of the development of scientific concepts in the field of mental hygiene. The writer points out that studies in the field of genetics and the application of intelligence tests to this group have led to an *impasse* so far as the social rehabilitation of the feeble-minded is concerned. "At this *impasse* the sociological approach to the problem begins to show a way out. Granted that it was impossible further to intellectualize the mental defective, was it not still possible to socialize him?" (p. 191.) Only when we realize that he has a personality is the way opened for his social development. The author gives the experiences at Waverly and at the Rome colonies to sustain the thesis that a considerable proportion of the mentally handicapped can be adjusted to wholesome community life. It is a well written, lucid exposition designed to interest and inform intelligent laymen. E. F. Y.

AGED CLIENTS OF BOSTON SOCIAL AGENCIES. By a Group of Investigators and Social Workers; LUCILE EAVES, Director and Editor. Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, 1925, pp. 152.

This report is the result of a co-operative enterprise under the direction of Dr. Eaves in which the Boston Council of Social Agencies, the Simmons College School of Social Work, and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union participated. The study deals with the personal characteristics of the aged poor, the causes of old age dependency, and the economic resources and living conditions of the aged poor. The homes for aged women were surveyed. Twelve leading social workers in the field have contributed comments concerning care needed by the aged as revealed by the findings of the report. The method is largely statistical; a considerable number of tables and charts are included, together with sample schedules. E. F. Y.

THE NEGRO YEAR BOOK: AN ANNUAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO, 1925-1926. Edited by MONROE N. WORK. Negro Year Book Publishing Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1925, pp. viii+544.

One always welcomes each new edition of *The Negro Year Book*, because nowhere else can one find so much interesting, up-to-date and reliable information regarding the progress that the over ten million Negroes in the United States are making. In this last edition Professor Work has made a number of improvements over former numbers. *The Negro Year Book* is indispensable for those who desire to study any phase of the so-called negro problem.

H. G. D.

WHAT THE COAL COMMISSION FOUND. Edited by EDWARD E. HUNT. The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925, pp. 416.

The third volume in the Human Relations Series appears at a particularly appropriate time, a time when there is evidence of a new disturbance among the coal miners of the United States. The various investigations made by President Harding's Coal Commission are summarized and analyzed by those who were conducting the specific tasks for the Commission, and hence, the claim that the work is an authoritative summary is entirely justifiable. A positive service has been rendered by the publication of these reports in a style which enables their comprehension by the general public. The behest of the Commission, "The fundamental evil in the anthracite industry is that of monopoly—the treatment of limited natural resources as if they were like other private property" needs to be emphasized again and again for the benefit of the entire social order.

A commendable and fitting conclusion of the book occurs under the title of "Sans Tache." The publishers, recognizing that the machine process has deprived the worker of his old creative distinctiveness, call special attention to those individuals whose craftsmanship and skill have been lent to the preparation of the volume. This is recognition finely bestowed.

M. J. V.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES. National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York, 1925, pp. viii+160.

The general thesis of the little volume is that child labor is not a problem to be solved by legislation alone, state or federal. Instead it is "essentially a problem of co-ordinating the work aspect of education and child development with the formal school aspect, the recreational aspect and the domestic aspect." There is presented little that is new in the arguments against federal legislation or in the facts of child labor. Certainly if there had not been a definite need for this sort of legisla-

tion, there would have been no call for enactment. To state that the proposed amendment is unnecessary is to disregard actual conditions. It is to be hoped that proselyting of children in our industrial activities will be brought to a speedy end.

M. J. V.

NEW VALUES IN CHILD WELFARE. Edited by J. PRENTICE MURPHY and H. S. BOSSARD. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Sept., 1925, pp. vii+203.

The highly commendable editorial policy of the *Annals* has made available here thirty-two papers representing most recent thought and action in the child welfare field. *New Values in Child Welfare* is repeated as general heading for Part I, which deals with protection of family life, children's health, juvenile courts, child welfare programs and other subjects. As a unit, Part I represents the philosophy, stated in an editorial foreword, that "the period of childhood offers the most constructive possibilities" for an "approach to the problems of social welfare." *Every Child* is the title of Part II, which consists of twenty papers read before the Third All-Philadelphia Conference on Social Work. Some of the problems treated are: "every child's" economic needs, where and how he plays, his pre-school development, his mental hygiene, schooling, and general health. Interspersed are papers discussing the functions of agencies handling child problems, including social work schools. This *Annals* recalls that of November, 1921, devoted to the general topic "Child Welfare." But neither substitutes for the other. The later publication discusses many different experiences, problems, treatments, and viewpoints. Sentimental expressions are relatively few. When theory or principle is stated, it is usually based on practical experience.

E. F. B.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By STUART ALFRED QUEEN and DELBERT MARTIN MANN. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1925, pp. xxi+690.

This book makes its approach through concrete situations which are met by the case worker. Each chapter is introduced by the summary of an actual case. The purpose is to open up questions for the students' consideration instead of presenting the funded information for the students to master. The problems treated are largely those which come before the charity organization societies or closely related agencies. In Chapter Twenty-eight other problems are listed which were not included. At least one or two from this group should have been discussed to give the treatment a better balance because these are just as important, even though they are of a more communal nature. The last chapter, on "Social Reorganization and the Remaking of Personality," is a valuable contribution. A good bibliography is appended to each chapter.

W. C. S.

TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY. By PAUL BUREAU. Introduction by MARY SCHARLIEB. Constable and Company, Ltd., London, 1925, pp. xvi+546.

This book, which is an outgrowth of present conditions in France, is little more than a bitter attack on neo-malthusianism, an advocacy of certain church dogmas, and an appeal to rank nationalism. To regain her prosperity, maintain her prestige, and win the next war, France must breed more babies. The author thinks he has made a scientific study, but his theology and patriotism are so much in evidence that one feels like questioning even the statistical work. H. G. D.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY. By GROVE SAMUEL DOW. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1925, pp. xvi+337.

STARTING POINTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. By A. G. KELLER. Ginn and Company, New York, 1925, pp. v+183.

OUTLINES OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR. By DANIEL HARRISON KULP, II. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925, pp. x+257.

Introductory sociology texts for high school and college are coming out in rapid succession. Professor Dow's book, which is based on his college text, *SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS*, is destined for secondary schools. The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of sociology, while the following chapters treat of a number of current social problems. It should be considered an introduction to *social ethics* rather than *sociology*. Professor Keller's book developed out of an orientation course for college freshmen. The concept of *adjustment* is central in this discussion,—adjustment to the physical, social and supernatural environments. The adjustment to the physical environment occupies more than half the space. A glance at the title page of Professor Kulp's volume leads the reviewer to exclaim, "What next!" We have educational, rural, and urban sociologies, and now we have a sociology for nurses. But the reviewer fails to see any new type of human behavior which belongs particularly to this special group. This is a syllabus with outlines, suggested readings, and questions for study suitable for a general introductory course to sociology. The readings are well selected, the outlines are very suggestive, and the queries are thought-provoking. Here and there one finds some sparkling "Kulpian" touches which add to the interest. W. C. S.

AN APPROACH TO SOCIAL MEDICINE. By FRANCIS LEE DUNHAM, M. D. The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925, pp. 342.

The author of this volume has been giving courses in social medicine at Johns Hopkins for some years. His interest has centered in "the

clinical study of the personality." He regards biological concepts as the proper tools for the diagnosis and treatment of the problems of personality. Therefore, relatively little account is taken of the large amount of work done in this field by psychiatrists, psycho-analysts, psychologists, and sociologists. The book is intended for the lay reader and for the medical social worker. Fifty-four pages are given over to the various forms and records used in the administration of hospital social service. The social data shown in sample cases appears remarkably brief and uninforming when compared with the studies of the mental hygienists or with the better grade of social case histories now prepared by family welfare workers.

E. F. Y.

AMERICAN LAW OF CHARITIES. By CARL ZOLLMAN. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1924, pp. xviii+623.

Professor Zollman has made a very valuable contribution both to jurisprudence and to social service in this masterly statement of American legal doctrines regarding charity. He first traces the English and American development of law in this field. This is followed by a legal analysis of the *cy pres* doctrine as applied to charitable trusts. Other problems dealt with include trusts for religious, benevolent, educational, and municipal purposes; the responsibilities of trustees; mortmain statutes; perpetuities; supervision and termination of charitable trust; conflict of laws; tax exemption and damage liability. There is an appendix giving suggestions for and practical forms of charitable devices and bequests. The form is that of standard legal texts with a table of cases, exhaustive case citations, and a carefully classified index. The author has succeeded remarkably well in maintaining judicial poise in dealing with the more delicate and controversial aspects of his subject.

E. F. Y.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF STATISTICS. By ROBERT EMMET CHADDOCK. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1925, pp. xvi+471.

This volume contains materials for a substantial introductory course in statistics. The needs of students are kept constantly in mind but there is no attempt to gloss over fundamental difficulties in this field. The author is in fact quite modest in his statement of the scientific value of the statistical method. He has posted frequent warning signs for the unwary or over-enthusiastic reader. There is a brief chapter on graphic presentation. The bibliographies are well selected and ample. The illustrative material makes it a particularly useful book for beginning classes in social and economic statistics.

E. F. Y.

A SOCIAL AUDIT OF A SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY. By MAURICE J. KARPF. The Jewish Aid Society and the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, 1919-1925, The Bureau, Chicago, pp. 224.

This is a unique "case history" of a family welfare agency covering a period of six years. It is an attempt to give a vivid picture of a modern, highly organized, social service organization. The problems presented to such an agency and the methods employed by it are detailed at considerable length. Many of these methods are new and represent distinct advances in social service administration. Executives will be well repaid by a careful study of the entire report. E. F. Y.

COUNTRY LIFE IN SOUTH CHINA: THE SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILISM. By DANIEL HARRISON KULP, II Columbia University, New York, 1925 pp. xxxi+367.

This concrete study of a village in China has gone far beyond the orthodox enumeration of the blind, the deaf, and the halt. Through the use of sociological tools the author has succeeded in digging beneath the surface and has revealed to us a village populated by living human beings who are seeking to find satisfaction for their wishes. This book gives a good insight into the familist type of social organization. W. C. S.

SAVAGE LIFE IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA. By G. HORNE and G. AISTON. Macmillan and Company, London, 1924, pp. xi+184.

This volume, setting forth the habits, customs, and beliefs of a preliterate group, carries the reader back into the distant past, for these people are still living in the stone age,—they have but few tools other than those of chipped stone. The book is profusely illustrated.

W. C. S.

Periodical Notes

Preventing Crime. Prevention of crime should start in childhood. Intelligence tests alone do not satisfactorily solve the problem of inferiority. Mere stupidity is not a great menace. Herman M. Adler, *Hygeia*, September, 1925, pp. 489-490.

History. History may be regarded as: (1) a body of knowledge respecting the life of the past, (2) a method of inquiry, (3) a point of view in relation to mankind. It implies a critical attitude toward statements regarding the past and a conception of continuity and development. Charles H. Haskins, *Historical Outlook*, May, 1925, pp. 195-197.

War or Peace. I. *The Land-Hunger Urge for War.* Back of all causes of war is desire for land. The basic law of all social science is the basic law of biology, namely, all life is dependent upon the land. To escape war, the increase of the group must be consciously and rationally regulated in accordance with the possibility of maintaining life already developed. Henry P. Fairchild, *Forum*, September, 1925, pp. 413-420.

The Psychology of Social Institutions. Social institutions constitute the appropriate subject matter of social psychology. The essence of social existence is not in isolated individuals, but in those accumulations of intellectual capital which make it impossible for the individual to live except as part of a group which brought this capital into existence. Charles H. Judd, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July, 1925, pp. 151-156.

The Sociological Uses of History. Among the uses which sociology has made of history are: interpretation of the present substantiation of social evolution, proof of the reality of social change, perception of cause and effect in social phenomena, use of trends to anticipate future effects, facts concerning the role, development, and decadence of social institutions, the part of ideals in modifying human conduct. J. O. Hertzler, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1925, pp. 173-198.

Winning the War on Lynching. In 1924 there were sixteen persons lynched, all Negroes. Only one was in a northern state. These figures show relatively large reductions from previous annual statistics, probably due to the growth of public opinion against the practice. R. L. Gray, *World's Work*, September, 1925, pp. 507-511.

China's Industrial Revolt. The soldier is the boss in China. The heads of provincial governments govern or misgovern for personal benefit. A national movement is developing, engineered by students, which seeks to better economic conditions for the workers. It is part of the Industrial Revolution which began in England one-hundred and fifty years ago. Thomas B. Partington, *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1925, pp. 230-238.

The Housing Situation in the United States. In housing theory and practice the United States has moved from purely sanitary regulation, requirements of light and space, water and sewage disposal, to control of rents, prohibition of eviction of tenants, remission of taxes on home building, and house construction through co-operative municipal enterprise. Leifur Magnussen (quoted by Edith E. Wood,) *Housing Betterment*, August, 1925, pp. 210-212.

Sick Wanderers. Advertising by commercial bodies in the Southwest has brought undesirable results through the attraction to this section of large numbers of tuberculous. The financial drain on social work agencies attempting to handle the poverty-stricken tuberculous has been a serious burden. Eastern states are now advertising relative to possibilities of cure "at home," with apparently desirable results. Jessamine S. Whitney, *Survey*, September 15, 1925, pp. 617-619.

Scientific Method and Social Progress. It is within the province of sociology, as the science of organized human relationships, to formulate the objectives and to state the criteria of social progress. Through elucidation of these objectives and criteria by sociology we are able to formulate, in the generalized form of laws and principles, more definite, inclusive, and permanent social values, making for an understanding of social progress. No one who seeks a scientific concept of progress need be discouraged if he is familiar with the history of scientific method. L. L. Bernard, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1925, pp. 1-18.

The Independence of Social Psychology. The group is a reality over and above the individuals who compose it. There is a social dimension to mind. Hence individual psychology is not a guide to group behavior. The group functions as a unit. The scientific basis for social psychology lies in the fact that by means of it the action of the group may be predicted. Wilson D. Wallis, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July, 1925, pp. 147-150.

The Edwardses and the Jukeses. The eugenists have erred in beginning the study of these two families with Jonathan Edwards and Max Jukes, and in drawing general conclusions from too scanty information. In the Edwards line there is evidence of immorality, as there

is evidence of good blood in the Jukes line. These characteristics have been underestimated in trying to prove eugenics theories. Clarence Darrow, *American Mercury*, October, 1925, pp. 147-157.

Pure Research and Practical Research. Pure research involves two steps: (1) selection of a problem from any source, (2) a scholarly solution. Practical research has five steps: (1) study of a going concern to discover weaknesses, (2) selection of some weakness for investigation, (3) solution of the problem, (4) installation of solution, (5) maintenance of the solution as part of the system affected. W. W. Charters, *Journal of Educational Research*, September, 1925, pp. 95-101.

The World's Children. An international sense of corporate responsibility has led to development of the Save-the-Children movement which has extended to all parts of Europe. Its objects are: (1) provision of means of normal development, (2) in case of disaster, relief to children first, (3) protection against exploitation, (4) training which develops the consciousness that the child's talents are for use in service. Eglantyne Jebb, *Contemporary Review*, August, 1925, pp. 225-228.

Diffusionism and the American School of Historical Ethnology. No anthropologist today believes in an orderly and fixed procession of cultural development. The American school of historical ethnology is critical, rejecting the extremes of speculative evolutionism and diffusionism. It is historical, clinging to geographico-historical principles. It is psychological, supplementing objective description by psychological evaluation. Alexander Goldenweiser, *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1925, pp. 19-38.

International Notes

THE FASCISM MOVEMENT in Italy, coming into power to crush the rising socialist movement, has gone to the extreme of creating an autocracy. Its latest developments have been compared to the podesta government which was notorious in the Middle Ages. Fascism rules by force. No newspaper dares to say a word of criticism, or it will be suppressed. Even Fascism's pleas for class co-operation, as an antidote to the class struggle theory, is completely vitiated by its own extreme autocracy in compelling co-operation. Democracy is apparently crushed, in order to protect Italy, so it is believed, from an undemocratic bolshevism. Until the masses receive a socialized education that will enable each individual to think and act as a responsible exponent of public welfare, democracy must abide its time. But it is this very education that autocracy is afraid of and opposing. Hence, the exponents of democracy must needs possess great courage as well long-suffering patience.

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the Jordan Peace Plan has perhaps not been adequately considered by sociologists. It will be recalled that the prize of twenty-five thousand dollars offered by the allied associations of teachers in many nations aiming at world peace by means of education, contributed by Mr. Raphael Herman, of Los Angeles, was awarded to Dr. David Starr Jordan, to the great satisfaction of the whole world.

This Herman-Jordan Peace Plan, recently adopted as a definite program by the World Federation of Education Associations at its convention in Edinburgh, is of especial significance to sociologists because it seems to rest upon the conviction that international friendship must rest upon the international mind, and that the international mind, in turn, will have to be built up through education. But jingoistic teachers cannot inculcate the true international outlook. Therefore the educational associations in all lands must educate the teachers in order that they may be able to induct their pupils into the habits of thought and sentiment upon which the new world order will have to rest. This is a matter of creating attitudes and modifying values, and is thus a distinctly social-psychological process.

The strategy of the plan is equally striking in its insight and practicality. It provides for a number of committees to study and report on the possibility of unbiased history writing and teaching; on the effects of armaments and universal military training; and half a score of similar topics. Immense significance lies in the fact that here is an effort to *ascertain the truth*, and to do it in co-operation with those outside one's

own little circle—for each of the national organizations is represented on each committee. Altogether the plan seems like a stroke of genius in its simplicity and prospective effectiveness.

After the extraordinary worth of the plan itself the most remarkable thing is the failure thus far to render it more widely available in convenient and more permanent form than newspaper clippings afford.

A NOTICEABLE IMPETUS to good feeling between Mexico and the United States was recently imparted by the oratorical contests on Constitutional Government in Mexico. These contests were encouraged and supported by the *Los Angeles Times* and a leading Mexican daily. The winners were entertained at Los Angeles as the guests of the *Times*, during a week of ceremonies, feasting, and sight-seeing. During this period General Obregon was also a guest in Los Angeles, along with other distinguished Mexicans, and he delivered an address on friendly relations between the two nations.

Social Drama Notes

BROTHERHOOD. A play in one act by WILLIAM H. WELLS.

Plays of the 47 Workshop, IV, Brentano's, New York, 1925.

A grim little bit of tragic force predominates in this well-written one act play of Mr. Wells. Brotherhood as it exists between union men on strike is shown to be coated with quite as thin a veneer as it seems actually to possess in its wider application to world affairs. The gripping little tale presents a group of union seamen on strike. Informed that the cause has gone against them, each one struggles against the other for a return to the job. There is left no thought of either loyalty for the cause or for each other. The job's the thing! The author has caught a real human frailty. Brotherhood as an ideal continues to elude us as a reality. The theme is worthy of expansion. M. J. V.

Social Poetry Notes

THE NEGRO AND HIS SONGS. By HOWARD W. ODUM and GUY B. JOHNSON. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1925, pp. vii+306.

For those who are interested in the study of race relations, this new study of typical negro songs of the South will offer some very interesting and unusual material. One finds it positively stimulating because of the originality of the collection. Through the medium of song and poem the Negro presents his own conception of life as he finds it. The writers of the volume have so arranged the material that the versatility of the Negro's powers of observation and analysis is clearly revealed. In his religious outpourings, in his social songs, in his work songs, much that is truly poetic is found. Perhaps the most interesting fact indicated in the relation of the composition of these various songs is that many of them have been improvised as the result of need or of emotional stimulation at a given time. It would be well for those who are constantly challenging the Negro mind and its abilities to read the selections. For others, the book offers several hours of rare enjoyment. M. J. V.

Social Work Notes

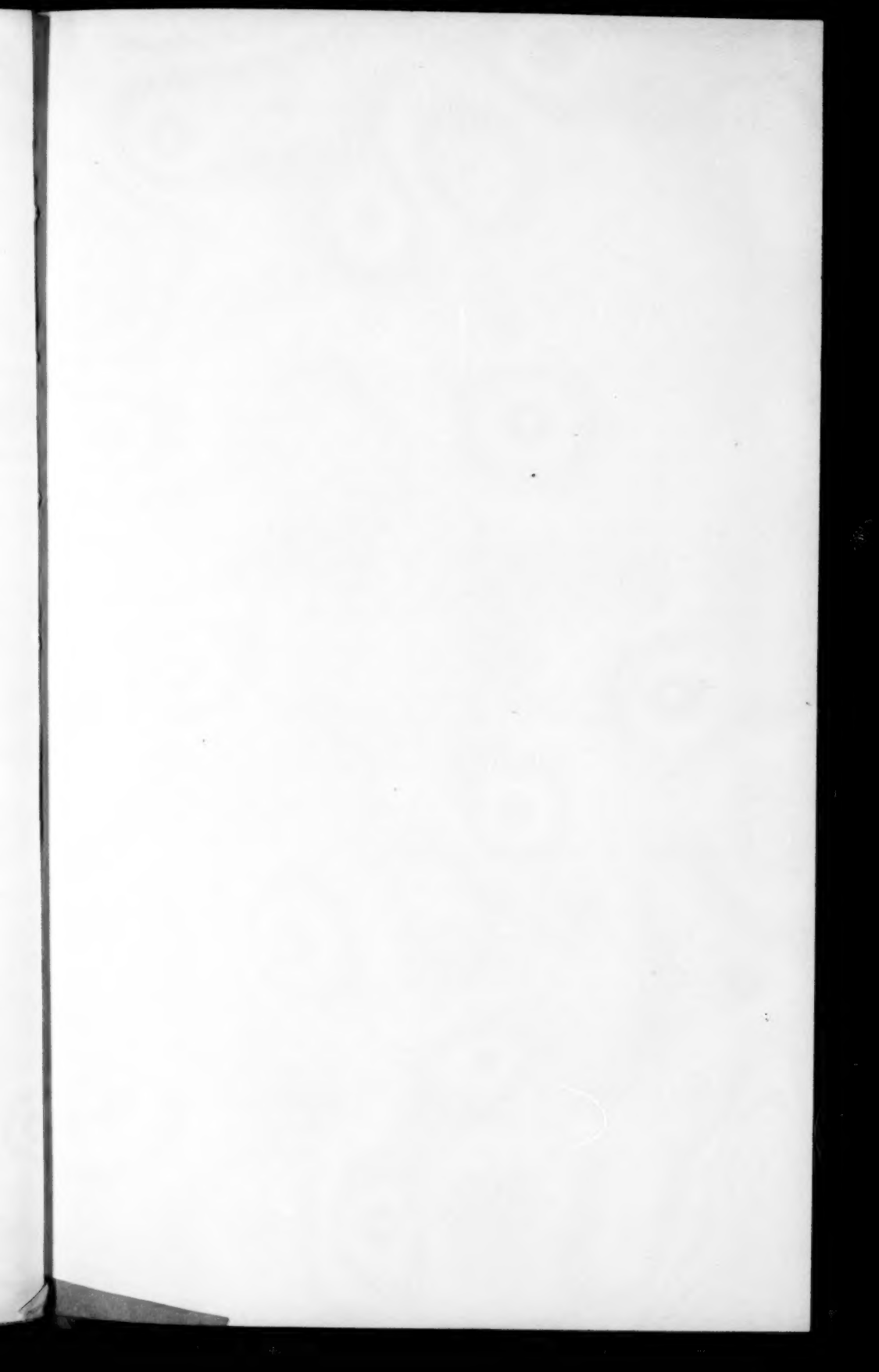
GEORGIA HAS RECENTLY passed a child labor law which makes fourteen the minimum age limit for work in hazardous occupations and forbids employment of children under sixteen between the hours of 7 P. M. and 6 A. M. It prohibits the labor of children in practically all occupations except agriculture and domestic employment. The newsboy also is probably not protected. There is good evidence that the possibility of Federal child labor legislation was a spur to action. The value of the law depends, of course, upon the vigor with which it is enforced. In any event it presages the coming of a new day in the industrial South.

A CAREFUL ANALYSIS of any major social problem is apt to result in at least momentary paralysis. The complexity of causal factors, the tremendous sweep of fundamental social forces whose interplay conditions these problems, gives pause to the most hardy. The ordinary readily available remedies seem pitifully inadequate at first glance to control such basic movements as the course of industrial development, the character of urban growth, the conflict of cultures, the movement of population tides, and the vagaries of public opinion. Yet the history of social work reveals the tremendous leverage which an energetic, intelligent and determined minority can exercise upon the course of events.

THE FOLLOWING ESTIMATE of the time required to "break in" a social worker to become fairly proficient on the job has been made by social work executives:

1. For a worker without social work education or social work experience, 1.5 years;
2. For a worker with social work education but with no social work experience, 1.1 years;
3. For a worker without social work education but with social work experience, 0.9 years;
4. For a worker with both social work education and social work experience, 0.4 years.

PRESENT DAY ATTEMPTS to explain social conduct start from two poles: (1) those which begin with the individual and elaborate theories of society and group life in term of the social "nature" of man; and (2) those which begin with social institutions and elaborate theories of personality in terms of group processes. The social worker who aligns himself squarely with either of these schools of thinking or with any one of their many subschools is in serious danger of dispensing with helpful concepts. For the present, some sort of sane eclecticism seems to be indicated if we are to take to heart Miss Richmond's suggestion that social work's chief concern is human personality.





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